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THE  
HISTORY AND LITERATURE  
OF THE  
HEIDELBERG CATECHISM,  
AND OF ITS

Introduction into the Netherlands.

*TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF VON ALPEN,*

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# THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

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## PREFATORY NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE following sketch of the history and literature of the Heidelberg Catechism, and of its adoption in the Netherlands, is a translation of Von Alpen's "*Geschichte und Literatur des Heidelberg Catechism.*" It will be found interesting to the general reader, and especially worthy of the attention of those to whom all authentic information touching the Heidelberg Catechism is important. The original intention of the translator was simply to prepare a course of historical lectures on this subject, for the benefit of the students in the Theological Seminary, in New Brunswick, preparatory to a series of expository lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism, and a portion of the first part was read to the members of the middle and senior classes before the close of the last term; but it was deemed best, as the historical discussion pertains to another department, to finish the work at once, and make it accessible to all who may feel an interest in the subject. Dr. Woodbridge courteously and cordially assented to the original arrangement, and I wish thus to put on record my appreciation of his generous co-operation in this work.

The reader will confer a favour by bearing in mind a few points, to which his attention is called. In the first place, the translator is not responsible for the

opinions of the author, and though the doctrinal platform upon which Von Alpen stands is sound and firm, his views, in relation to established forms of religion, or church establishments, supported by the civil power, will not be shared by American readers; and yet those views are rather incidentally suggested, than formally vindicated, or asserted. In the second place, the translation is not, in every instance, literal; it is, however, throughout, as literal as the diverse idioms of the two languages will allow.

The history, herewith submitted, is only a portion of Von Alpen's work; it is, however, complete, so far as it goes, and will be followed in successive numbers of the *Quarterly*, as Providence shall permit, with the history of the introduction of the Catechism into Switzerland; Germany in general; into Julich, Cleve, Berg, Mark, &c.; into others of the German States; and into France, England, Poland, and Hungary.

The first five pages of Von Alpen's history of the adoption of the Catechism in the Netherlands are omitted in the translation, because they are occupied altogether with a panegyric, which, however eloquent it may be, is none the less irrelevant. Some passages of his preface are also ruled out, for want of space, but mainly because they consist of abstract speculations or discussions, which have nothing to do with the subject in hand.

The list of authorities, bearing on other portions of the history, will be given in their proper place. Believing that this work will supply a want which has been often acknowledged, the translator commits it to the students of the Theological Seminary, and to the Church, with the prayer that the blessing of our Covenant Head may attend it.

JOSEPH F. BERG.



## VON ALPEN'S PREFACE TO THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

IN accordance with my promise, I herewith present the History and Literature of the Heidelberg Catechism, which I hope will be acceptable to my cotemporaries. In a period, in which the field of history is cultivated by so many distinguished labourers, I had for some time hoped to have the privilege of reading the History of the Heidelberg Catechism, (which is so remarkable in every respect,) prepared by a competent hand. Mr. Kortum, in his day, remarked: "In Saxony they write about single small cities, monasteries, and villages of single families, and if one finds only an old penny, or an old vase, it must be made a public matter; and it is right, it should be so." What would Mr. Kortum say, were he living now? And yet, we have not any history of the Heidelberg Catechism adapted to our wants! It will be readily believed that I am familiar with all that has been written on this subject; but it must be acknowledged also, that this does not obviate the necessity of elaborating this material. The value of such a history, which exerted so much influence on the changes of the sixteenth century, and upon succeeding ages, will hardly be questioned by any one.

The history itself is exceedingly attractive; it is a flowery field, over which the thoughtful man delights to walk, and seldom returns unsatisfied. In its freshness, we forget the cares and sorrows of life; there we may repose quietly, when wearied with official duty. That is a pretty incident, which Anthony Phanormitanus and Erius Puteanus relate concerning the two kings in Arragon, Ferdinand and Alphonsus, that they regained their health by having Livy and Curtius read to them.

Bodinus tells a similar anecdote of Laurentius-Medices, when the story of the siege of the Castle of Winsbergen was read to him. In general, it may be said, that all history is attractive. It should be studied for the pleasure which it affords; at least I can avow, that I have enjoyed pleasant hours in this work, have forgotten many a care, and have been cheered in the dark moments of sorrow. Perhaps, for this purpose, this history, too, may be useful. . . .

The History of the Heidelberg Catechism contains much that is instructive for all classes and orders of people, and this renders it worthy of the consideration of every reflecting mind. History is, in general, the best school of wisdom and prudence. From time immemorial, it has educated the greatest, the most skilful and deserving men of our race. That throng of heroes, artists, philosophers, lawgivers, and teachers, whose names, to this day, fill us with admiration, chose it as their guide on the glorious path to immortality, and never yet has any one gone out of this school untaught. Where could we hope to gather more knowledge of the world and of men, than just here? The physical and moral world have, once for all, their immutable laws, according to which they move and work, and these lead us to the study of nature and of history. The ignorant man is amazed at many occurrences, appearances, and events; he is carried away with emotions of horror or fear; he does not know the causes, the laws, and the effects of these things, and he is at a loss what to do; but the disciple of nature, the eager student of history, views them with an inquiring mind, estimates them according to their effects and consequences, and thence deduces the most salutary rules, which govern his conduct. Here we learn what man is, what he can do; what lies hidden in him; his virtues and his infirmities.

Here we become acquainted with the springs, the power, and the effects of truth and error, of wisdom and folly, of virtue and vice, of customs, prejudices, and passions. Here we gather the clearest ideas upon religious and civil government, ideas which are so important to our inward and outward peace, and which, through recent occurrences, and occasional shallow and imprudent administration, to which they have given rise, have obtained such a degree of vagueness, confusion, and absurdity, that there is danger of their becoming very unsafe guides of conduct for some time to come.

If it is true that history in general is a school of wisdom, this may be especially asserted of the history of the Heidelberg Catechism. Let it not be said that the history of this Catechism is so unimportant, and its influence so small, that it does not deserve to be the subject of special elaboration; or that it would be better, in these days, when so many other things are claiming the attention of the world and evoking revolutions, to let it rest in peace, as a subject which has lost its interest. . . . The Heidelberg Catechism exerted the most powerful influence upon the destinies of entire nations and kingdoms. It decided the constitution of a whole republic. It was the basis upon which the freedom of a powerful religious party was founded. Admit, that the ideas formerly entertained on many subjects have undergone a change, and that the days are gone by when men denounced and persecuted each other as heretics, solely on the ground of differences in religious doctrine or opinion, and refused, even to an upright man, all love and intercourse, all help and social kindness, simply because he adhered to another church, or to another confession of faith; still, it is not a matter of indifference by what way a man

attains the goal which he seeks. Praiseworthy as it is, that in our day, in the ordinary transactions, business and intercourse of life, men look not on outward confessions and symbols of faith, but on disposition, honourable conduct, and morality, and that Jewish bigotry, fanaticism, and pharisaism, are branded with indelible infamy; just so blameworthy is it, on the other side, to be indifferent to every thing which concerns God and religion. Our want of prosperity originates, after all, invariably, from opinions and views, and is rendered complete by an ever-increasing immorality. Whoever believes that the history of the Heidelberg Catechism presents nothing adapted to our times, has reason to regard this opinion as a very unfavourable indication of his mental structure, and may well be concerned about himself. . . . Pliny justly observes: "History must aim not at vain boasting, but at fidelity and truth." Formerly, our histories bore upon their title pages the epithets, "impartial," "reliable," "complete;" but, for some time back, they claim the honourable designation of *pragmatical*. A good name! Polybius and Tacitus wrote pragmatically, and the word originated with the former of them. He writes pragmatically, who reveals the origin of human virtues and vices; the peculiarities of the age and the people, and their genuine character; but the essence of such a history is not exhausted by this means. We may say that history is presented pragmatically, when not only facts are stated, whose result and development might seem to have occurred merely by accident, but, when inquiry is made also, particularly into their causes and secret springs. These seldom lie so deep that they cannot be brought to light. The varied motives of human conduct, and often the slightest traits, open the human

heart to us, in all its folds. In this history, especially, it will be seen how often religion has been perverted into a pretext, in order to glut passion the more securely. Countless transactions may seem to be engaged in, from devotion to religion, but their real sources are pride, ambition, and other poisoned springs. Here, it will be seen, that the slightest occasions are often sufficient to produce the most astounding changes. A dream leads to a truth, which, for a thousand years, had been hidden from mortal man. The word of a poor monk shakes a monster, which had scoffed at the combined powers of the world; a tree decides the issue of a murderous battle. Call it accident—call it chance—whoever believes the providence of God, finds in these facts the confirmation of the divine word—that not even a hair shall fall from our head, without God's knowledge and will.

This history was prepared in manuscript, on a scale more extended than that in which it appears in print; it has been condensed to make it better adapted for all readers. For the learned, therefore, some things will be too briefly stated, and for Dilettanti, others too diffusely. This is a circumstance which I could not change, without failing to accomplish my purpose of rendering service to a large number; and yet both classes of readers will find enough to satisfy them. The man of learning, to whom an extensive library is accessible, will find a road prepared upon which he may easily advance farther—and the reader, whose engagements do not allow the leisure requisite for laborious investigations, has in these pages a short resumé of facts, and with this he will be content.

I feel bound, above all, to mention the sources from which I have derived the History of the Heidelberg



Catechism. Every historian who wishes to earn credit, is bound to indicate these authorities. The more reliable and copious these sources are, and the more they are made the subjects of reference, the more sure and complete will be the knowledge obtained of the history. Without these authorities, there can be no accurate acquaintance with the subject, and no faithful presentation of it.

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HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE HEIDELBERG  
CATECHISM.

[Translated from the German of Von Alpen.]

ONE of the most remarkable events which give character to the illustrious sixteenth century, is the publication of the Heidelberg Catechism; to the Reformed Church, certainly, it is of vast interest and importance. This Catechism, which was, from its first appearance, cherished with the greatest veneration by the various branches of the Reformed Church, was designated by two names. By some it was called the Catechism of the Palatinate; but it was more widely known as the Heidelberg Catechism. The former name finds its origin in the fact, that it was prepared in the Palatinate for the benefit of the schools and churches in that province, and was first introduced there; but it was more commonly called the Heidelberg Catechism from the renowned city of the Palatinate, Heidelberg, on the Neckar, where it was prepared by learned men, approved by a National Synod, and first published in printed form.

Heidelberg was renowned for its University, which was founded in the year 1346. This seat of learning contributed greatly to the education and cultivation of the Palatinate and circumjacent country. In the fifteenth century, Jerome of Prague came to Heidelberg, and endeavoured, but with indifferent success, to give currency to his doctrinal views. The Elector Frederic I. was, at that time, the reigning prince. His character resembled that of the age; he was a wild man, and war-like, but

devout in his way, in accordance with the idea of piety prevalent in that age, *i. e.*, he was not disposed to offer much favour to new doctrines; but the seed which was destined so soon to bear fruit, was already beginning to germinate. Under the reign of his successor, the Elector Philip, science began to exhibit the power of a new life in the Rhenish Palatinate. John of Dahlberg, Bishop of Worms and Chancellor of the Elector, Theodore of Pleiningen, John Wessel of Groningen, Rudolph Agricola, Jacob Wimpfling, John Reichlin, and John Drittheim, laboured strenuously for the intellectual advancement of their cotemporaries. The Elector Philip rewarded their good counsels and noble endeavours by his cordial personal esteem and earnest co-operation. Much good seed was sown in hope, but the unhappy war of the Bavarian succession suppressed its growth, and the terrible devastation of the Palatinate checked the progress of the promised reformation. The Elector Philip died in 1508. He was succeeded in the government by his brother, Lewis the Gentle. The Reformation began during his reign. The favourite tastes of this Prince were the chase and architecture; and his devotion to these pursuits was much in the way of his personal interest in the religious movements of this period; but his peculiar goodness of heart, the happy gentleness of his disposition, and his utter aversion to all religious controversy secured peace to his country, and the undisturbed enjoyment of life, even to the friends of the new opinions. In the month of April, 1518, the Augustinian monk, Martin Luther, comes from Wittemberg to a general Chapter of his order at the Augustinian convent in Heidelberg. A letter of recommendation from the Elector of Saxony opens his way to court. John Hausschein, called Oecolampadius (according to the prevalent mode of Hellenicising German names), had already impressed the young

Count Wolfgang, who was his pupil, with a favourable idea of this remarkable man, and Luther finds at Heidelberg more friends than he had reckoned in anticipation. At the suggestion of his Augustinian brethren, he appoints a public disputation, and finds among the clearest heads of the young men, who were students in the University, and in whom his reputation had awaked great personal interest in *The Man*, the most enthusiastic approbation and applause. Martin Bucer, Ehrhard Schnepf, John Brenz, and Theobald Bilican, together with a great portion of the German nobility, declared themselves for Luther. These men, but particularly Martin Bucer and John Oecolampadius, laboured with united energy in spreading the Reformation, which is everywhere introduced. The danger of the utter overthrow of the Papacy aroused the zeal of the opponents of the new doctrine, at the court of the Elector Louis. The public lectures of the friends of Luther are forbidden. John Brenz and Theobald Bilican are cited to appear before the Academic Senate and the electoral Chancellor Florentius of Wanningen, to give account of their alleged errors, but escape all further punishment, beyond the prohibition to continue their public lectures. The Peasant war rouses the stormy passions of the people. Prince Louis succeeds in calming the tumult in his principality, and the tragedy has not so many sad results for the reformation of these provinces as had been apprehended. Louis died March 16, 1544, and was succeeded by his brother, the Elector Frederic II. Thoroughly versed in the religious controversies of his age, and devoted heart and soul to the new doctrine, he began, immediately on his accession, to treat with the Confederates of the League of Smalkald. This promoted the practical commencement of the external reformation of the Church in the Palatinate; but before it could be



completed, the unfortunate issue of the war put an end to the League. The disastrous battle of Muhlberg, April 24, 1547, where the leader of the Protestants, the Elector of Saxony, lost both the field and his freedom, and the Prince of Hesse also became the Emperor's prisoner, gave the Emperor power to institute certain articles of agreement, which were to be binding until a council should finally settle the religious doctrines which were in dispute. According to the articles of this so called Interim, all the seven sacraments were to be retained, and the mass, with other abrogated ceremonies, was to be restored; even the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation was to be reinstated in the public faith. The Elector of the Palatinate, Frederic II., purchased the grace of the Emperor by accepting and introducing the Interim in his principality. But opinions once adopted cannot be laid aside like one's clothes; the advocates of the old and new doctrine continued the same as before. The triumph of the Emperor by a blessed providence was not of long duration. He was suddenly attacked and surprised by Prince Maurice, and compelled to accord complete religious liberty to Germany. The memorable treaty of Passau, August 2, 1552, an enduring memorial of German freedom against the outstretched arm of Austrian despotism, produced, in this instance also, the most glorious results. The Elector applied the income of ten suppressed and deserted convents to the endowment of the University of Heidelberg, and founded a scientific college in this city. The annual revenues of the suppressed convents were estimated by the Papal Nuncio at 630 ducats of the then currency.

The Elector Frederic II. died at Alzei, February 26, 1556, the father and benefactor of his people to the last moment of his life. The disastrous result of the war of



the Smalkaldian League greatly depressed his spirits and made him weary with its memories, although he remained steadfastly devoted to the new doctrine. His successor in the Principality, Otto Henry, the son of Frederic's elder brother, laboured for the reformation with greater courage. At the commencement of his reign he put away the idolatrous mass, and other superstitious usages of the Romish Church. He suppressed the monastery of the Holy Ghost, and applied the revenues to a rational and useful purpose, viz., the endowment of the University of Heidelberg, and the better support of the churches and schools. He ordered the pictures in the church of the Holy Ghost to be removed, and in the city of Heidelberg almost every thing was Protestant. He ordered the preparation of a new Liturgy and offices for public worship. These were composed by Henry Stolo, Michael Diller, and Dr. Marbach, who had recently arrived from Strasburg, and were put in print, and everywhere introduced by his authority. In order to secure the observance of this church order, Otto Henry instituted, under the name of the Church Council, a new College, to which he entrusted the general oversight of the Church in the Palatinate. The first members of this board were the Court Preacher, Michael Diller, and the two electoral counsellors, Christopher Ehem and Thomas Craft, and to these, A. D. 1557, on the recommendation of P. Melanethon, the new Superintendent, Thielemann Heshus, was added. Several more convents, for the most part deserted, were suppressed. Zwingli had already some friends in the Palatinate, and gradually three distinct parties were organized in Heidelberg, who maintained and propagated different opinions, especially with respect to the Lord's Supper, and the points of doctrine in dispute between Luther and Zwingli; strict followers of Luther, Philippists, and Zwinglians. The Elector

Otto Henry died February 12, 1559. Gentle and kind as his own heart was his reign. Patient endurance of affliction, temperate enjoyment of prosperity, humane toleration of those who rejected his own religious opinions, rear for him a more enduring memorial than the monument which he ordered to be erected to his memory in the church of the Holy Ghost, and which occasioned the bitter disputes that arose under the administration of his successor. His successor was a great Prince, whose name is dear to the Reformed Church, who was the originator of the Heidelberg Catechism; and by its means gave endurance and perpetuity to the Reformed Church. His name can never be forgotten. Apart from all the insignia of princely power, he was a truly great man. For schools of learning and benevolent institutions, he did more than all his predecessors had effected. The entire revenue of the suppressed convents was devoted to these objects. He renounced the customary pomp of the court, and introduced a simple style of living, in order to enable him to devote twenty thousand ducats of his yearly revenues to the endowment of seats of learning and charitable institutions. With a diligence that never abated, he proved the systems of doctrine which then divided religious attention, and adhered with warm and unshaken devotion to that form of faith, which, after painful and earnest thought, he had adopted as THE TRUTH. The successor of Otto Henry, who was childless, was FREDERIC THE THIRD of Simmern. At the commencement of his administration, he gave evidence of his preference for the Zwinglians, and also of a wisdom which was rarely exhibited by the princes of that age. The fire which had glimmered for some time under the ashes, broke out into flames of vehement controversy in the early part of his reign. Thieleman Hesshus accused Bernard Hexammer, a learned

professor at Edenkoben, of Zwinglian opinions, and refuted on this occasion certain dogmas, which, according to his representation, were maintained by Calvin and Zwingli. The Superintendent's deacon, William Klebitz, reproached him in writing with having misrepresented these doctrines. This private controversy broke out into a public dispute on the occasion of the promotion of Stephen Sylvius of Gröningen to a doctor's degree, and the University, incensed by the proud and despotic bearing of Hesshus, took part in the quarrel. These occurrences gave the existing parties the opportunity of consolidating their strength, and standing out in open antagonism. The strict Lutheran party espoused the side of the Superintendent. The Philippists and the Zwinglians quietly united against their common opponent, and soon were welded into one party. Through their support, William Klebitz obtained from the University, in the absence of Hesshus, the honour of a bachelorship in theology, and now openly defended the Theses, which Hesshus, on his return, condemned as errors. Unfortunately, the new Elector had made a journey to Augsburg, having, before his departure, enjoined silence on both the disputant parties. They thus gained a wide scope for their controversy; most of the preachers took part in the strife, and the pulpit was degraded to a platform on which embittered passions were displayed. The electoral Mayor, Count George of Erbach, did all he could, and commanded the disputants to await the return of the Prince, and in the meantime, to keep quiet. Thielemann Hesshus, instead of yielding his assent to this praiseworthy counsel, placed the Count and Deacon Klebitz under the ban of the Church. The smaller number of the wiser and more moderate men, laboured in vain to make peace between the enraged parties. At length the Elector returned from Augsburg, and

attempted to pacify them by a reunion. In vain! The angry quarrel still rings from the pulpit. Thielemann Hesshus and Deacon Klebitz are both dismissed from their stations, and peace is restored. In order to make this permanent, the Prince takes counsel of Philip Melanchthon, and introduces the alteration of the formula for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, suggested by this noble and gentle man. The strict Lutheran party is not content with this modification; some preachers are dismissed, and the electoral Judge, Erasmus Von Wanningen, resigns his office; but the entire party has so diminished in the course of the controversy, both in numbers and influence, that the Philippist and Zwinglian party are altogether in the ascendant. Prince John Frederic of Saxony, son-in-law of the Elector, a violent enemy of the Philippists, comes with his brother, John William, to Heidelberg, accompanied by Maximilian Mörlin and John Stæssel, two Saxon theologians, who are, according to his plan, to gain a victory over the Heidelberg doctors. The two princes take great pains, but all to no purpose, to change the mind of the Elector. Frederic investigates the doctrinal basis and forms of both parties, and after a careful personal proving of them all, holds fast to the Zwinglian doctrine. Still, he is of the opinion, that external church fellowship with other German Protestants may be maintained, notwithstanding their various opinions and modes of presenting doctrinal views, and therefore, without hesitation, he allows the Saxon theologians to preach in the pulpits of Heidelberg. His two sons-in-law are of a different opinion. At their request, a public discussion is instituted between the Palatinate and Saxon theologians, but its issue is unprofitable. The two Princes leave Heidelberg in great displeasure, and the means employed by them to detach the Elector from his Zwinglian convic-



tions, produce, to their great disgust, the very opposite result. Frederic now introduces a change in external ecclesiastical order, and the Church of the Palatinate adopts the forms and order of worship of the Swiss Church. The Scientific College is transformed into a theological seminary; monasteries and convents are gradually suppressed; the confiscated revenues are employed to the support of the Church, to the establishment of new schools, to the education of poor orphans, and the sustenance of sick and infirm persons.

After Frederic III. had thus wholly identified himself with the Reformed party, and had manned the University of Heidelberg with theologians of the same persuasion, he turned his undivided attention to the preparation of a Catechism for the churches and schools in his provinces. The reasons which impelled him to this step, are set forth by himself in a preface, which is prefixed to the first editions of the Heidelberg Catechism, as follows:

“ We, Frederic, of this name the Third, by the grace of God, Elector Palatine on the Rhine, &c., present to all and each of our Superintendents, Pastors, Preachers, Officers of the Church, and Schoolmasters, throughout the whole Province of the Rhenish Palatinate, our kindest greeting, and do them, herewith, to wit:—Inasmuch as we acknowledge, that we are bound by the admonition of the Divine word, and also by natural duty and relation, and have finally determined to order and administer our office, calling, and government, not only to the promotion and maintenance of quiet and peaceable living, and to the support of upright and virtuous walk and conversation among our subjects, but also and above all, constantly to admonish and lead them to devout knowledge and fear of the Almighty and his holy word of salvation, as the only foundation of all virtue and obedi-

ence, and to spare no pains, so far as in us lies, with all sincerity to promote their temporal and eternal welfare, and contribute to the defence and maintenance of the same; and, although apprised on entering upon our government, how our dear cousins and predecessors, Counts Palatine, Electors, &c., of noble and blessed memory, have instituted and proposed divers Christian and profitable measures and appliances for the furtherance of the glory of God and the upholding of civil discipline and order—notwithstanding this purpose was not in every respect prosecuted with the appropriate zeal, and the expected and desired fruit did not accrue therefrom—we are now induced not only to renew the same, but also, as the exigencies of the times demand, to improve, reform, and further to establish them; therefore, we also having ascertained that by no means the least defect of our system is found in the fact, that our blooming youth is disposed to be careless in respect to Christian doctrine, both in the schools and churches of our principality—some, indeed, being entirely without Christian instruction, others being unsystematically taught, without any established, certain, and clear catechism, but merely according to individual plan or judgment; from which, among other great defects, the consequence has ensued, that they have, in too many instances, grown up without the fear of God and the knowledge of his word, having enjoyed no profitable instruction, or otherwise have been perplexed with irrelevant and needless questions, and at times burdened with unsound doctrine—and now, whereas both temporal and spiritual offices, government and family discipline, cannot otherwise be maintained—and in order that discipline and obedience to authority and all other virtues may increase and be multiplied among subjects—it is essential that our youth be trained in early life, and above all, in the pure and



consistent doctrine of the holy gospel, and be well exercised in the proper and true knowledge of God: THEREFORE, we have regarded it as a high obligation, and as the most important duty of our government, to give attention to this matter, to do away with this defect, and introduce the needful improvements;—and accordingly, with the advice and coöperation of our entire theological faculty in this place, and of all Superintendents and distinguished servants of the Church, we have secured the preparation of a summary course of instruction, or Catechism of our Christian Religion, according to the word of God, in the German and Latin language; in order not only that the youth in churches and schools may be piously instructed in such Christian doctrine, and be thoroughly trained therein, but also that the Pastors and Schoolmasters themselves may be provided with a fixed form and model, by which to regulate the instruction of youth, and not, at their option, adopt daily changes, or introduce erroneous doctrine—and we do herewith affectionately admonish and enjoin upon every one of you, that you do, for the honour of God and our subjects, and also for the sake of your own soul's profit and welfare, thankfully accept this proffered Catechism, or course of instruction, and that you do diligently and faithfully represent and explain the same according to its true import, to the youth in our schools, and churches, and also from the pulpit to the common people, that you teach, and act, and live in accordance with it, in the assured hope, that if our youth in early life are earnestly instructed and educated in the word of God, it will please Almighty God also to grant reformation of public and private morals, and temporal and eternal welfare. Desiring, as above said, that all this may be accomplished, we have made this provision.

“Given at Heidelberg, Tuesday, the nineteenth of

January, in the year 1563 after the birth of Christ, our dear Lord and Saviour."

Henry Alting, commenting upon this preface, observes, that there was a necessity for the preparation of a new Catechism, on two grounds: because, in the first place, in addition to the Catechism of Brentius, adopted by the Elector Otto Henry, Luther's Catechism had been introduced by Hesshus, and besides, others had been adopted, according to individual preference, thus giving occasion to continual quarrels; and secondly, in order that a single, accredited form might be used in all the churches of the Palatinate, thus securing agreement, especially one in which, among other doctrines of religious belief, the doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ, and of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, should be clearly and soundly set forth. Niceron, in his memoirs, quotes an author whom he does not name, who supposes that the Elector ordered the preparation of the Catechism for the purpose of uniting the Calvinists and Lutherans, and thus arresting the farther progress of alienation between them.

The arrangement and perfection of the new Catechism was entrusted by the Elector to two learned men, Caspar Olevianus and Zachariah Ursinus, in the year 1562. They had both been recently called to Heidelberg; both were very young men, having scarcely entered upon their twenty-sixth year; but they were, both, the most talented and distinguished men of their age, and the most esteemed teachers in the Reformed Church. Ursinus was Professor in the University and Scientific College in Heidelberg. Olevianus was the favourite and the Court preacher of the Prince. Both were Germans, and accustomed to write in the German language. Both participated equally in the *materiel* of the work; the form of the Catechism was furnished by Ursinus. Each

of them prepared a composition of his own. Olevianus had arranged his as a comprehensive and simple exposition of the Covenant of Grace. Ursinus, on the other hand, prepared a double Catechism—a larger one for such as had made some progress in the experience of Divine truth, and a smaller one for children and beginners. Such was the origin of the Heidelberg Catechism. Not only did these two learned men labour in its preparation, but the Elector, Frederic himself, took part in the arrangement and perfection of the Catechism. This is the declaration of the Heidelberg theologians in the Christian memorial upon the catholic remarks upon the Heidelberg Catechism, as made to Counsellor Rittmayer: “Although the Elector availed himself of the services of the Palatinate doctors, Ursinus and Olevianus, in the preparation of the Catechism, yet they did not venture to insert anything which the Elector had not approved.”

A memorial is also extant, in his hand-writing, from which it appears that the very words were submitted to his approval. For, in it, he writes thus: “The answer in the Catechism on the question, ‘Does then the bread and wine become the real body and blood of Christ?’ was originally in these words: ‘Just as little as before, out of the body of Christ, a real, natural bread had been present, when He calls himself the living Bread, and was yet true in what He said.’ This answer is taken almost word for word from the Greek discourses of Theodoret; but it was changed and put into its present form, in order to avoid the impression that it was intended to represent the Sacrament as a mere emblem, or sign; if this Catechism might be adopted with this single alteration, I should not only be content, but I believe it would conduce to the glory of God, as well as afford me peculiar pleasure.”

After the Catechism had been thus prepared, it was

submitted to his electoral highness. Frederick here-upon convened a Synod at Heidelberg, A. D., 1562, consigned the new Catechism to the superintendents and pastors of the whole Palatinate, and commended it to their close and accurate examination, in order that they might pass a just opinion upon its merits. This they did in several sessions, examined it conscientiously and carefully, according to the prescription of the Divine word, and were filled with admiration at the clear apprehension of the doctrines of Scripture, by which it was marked, at the just expression of the Reformed idea of the doctrinal system, and with one voice commended and approved it, requesting the proper authorities to furnish it in printed form. At the same time, the commission was given to Joshua Lago, a preacher at Heidelberg, and Lambert Pithozæus, an efficient schoolmaster, who had come to Heidelberg from Deventer, to translate the approved Catechism into the Latin language, in order that it might be used in the Latin schools, gymnasia, and colleges of the Palatinate. His translation was soon ready, and by the direction of the Elector, it was printed, and the Catechism was published in both languages, Latin and German, under the following title: "Catechism, or Christian Instruction, as taught in the Churches and Schools of the Electoral Palatinate. Printed in the city of Heidelberg by John Mayer, 1563." The order of the Elector, above presented, was printed as a preface. Both impressions, the Latin as well as the German, may be regarded as original editions; but the German edition will retain its claim as the authentic edition, because the Catechism was originally composed in the German language; and Henry Altling, in his history of the Church of the Palatinate, justly remarks: "The only authentic edition is the German, in which not only is everything presented more



elegantly, but also with greater impressiveness and emphasis." This first edition, which is now very rare, had much which was peculiar to it, and differed from our present editions. The division of the Catechism into Lord's Days, was not yet adopted. The questions also were not separate and marked. Questions and answers follow one another without being numbered. The proof-texts are not numerous, and are very awkwardly inserted. The eightieth question is entirely wanting. The reason of this omission is not known. The first edition was speedily exhausted; it was immediately followed by a new one, with the title: "Catechism, or Christian Instruction, as taught in the Churches and Schools of the Palatinate. Printed in the city of Heidelberg by John Mayer, 1563." We might be tempted to believe that this edition is the same as the first; but on the last page we read a notice which at once removes all doubt, in the words: "That which was overlooked in the first impression, especially folio 55, is now, by order of the Elector, appended." If we read this page, we find that it is the eightieth question which treats of the Lord's Supper and the Popish mass. The Elector, therefore, had already more courage. He allowed this question, which he perhaps had left out on account of the Papists, to be boldly printed; but the close of the question was not yet as it now stands in our Catechisms. The close was then in these words: "And the mass is, in fact, nothing but an idolatrous denial of the only sacrifice and passion of Jesus Christ."

In the same year, and under the auspices of the same publisher, a third edition was issued. In one edition of this same year, we find the closing words of the eightieth question expressed in the following style: "And the mass is, therefore, in fact nothing else than a denial of the only sacrifice and passion of Jesus Christ,

and an accursed idolatry." It may indeed be objected, that, in the midst of the printing of the second edition, an alteration had been effected in the eightieth question, and that thus the variation may be accounted for; but it is more natural to suppose that it was a third edition.

The inconvenience resulting from the indiscriminate succession of the questions and answers without division or numbers, was soon perceived, and it was therefore remedied. A new fourth edition was prepared with the title: "Catechism, or Christian Instruction, as taught in the Churches and Schools of the Palatinate; together with the Church ceremonies and prayers. Printed anew, with the addition of the verses. Printed in the city of Heidelberg by John Mayer, 1573." In this edition we find the usual division of our Catechism into distinct Lord's Days. The questions and answers no longer follow in indiscriminate succession, but are designated with numbers.

The most valuable edition was published at Neustadt on the Hardt, with the title: "Catechism, or short compendium of Christian doctrine; together with the Church ceremonies, prayers, and complete proof-texts from Holy Scripture. Also, the Refutation, by the Theologians of the University of Heidelberg, of the unjust imputations and misrepresentation with which said Catechism, and the testimony adduced in it from sacred Scripture, have been, by some persons, unjustifiably assailed. Also, Doctor Martin Luther's opinion respecting the breaking of bread in the Lord's Supper. Also, the answer and questions in reply to six questions concerning the Lord's Supper, and in what articles, the evangelical churches are united, and in what they differ concerning the Holy Communion, proposed by Zachariah Ursinus. Neustadt on the Hardt." On the last page, besides the place, the year of this impression is



also noted: "Printed at Neustadt on the Hardt, anno MDXCV." This edition is the most valuable; the apologies which it contains, are masterly.

The contents of the Catechism are as follows: One hundred and twenty-nine questions and answers constitute the matter of its composition, and these are divided into fifty-two Lord's Days. The Treatise consists of three parts, the order and connection of which are presented in the second question and answer. The first part treats of man's misery, from the third question to the eleventh; the second, of man's deliverance, from the twelfth to the eighty-fifth question; the third, of gratitude, from the eighty-sixth question to the close. In these parts, the dogmatic and moral import of catechetical theology are discussed; namely, in the first part, the doctrines of sin and the punishment of sin; in the second, the doctrines of deliverance, the apostle's creed, doctrine of Justification, and the Sacraments; in the third, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. This division the authors chose according to the model of sacred Scripture. Ursinus expresses his views on this point very forcibly, in his Prolegomena to the Body of Orthodox doctrine, or to the Catholic expositions which were published by Dr. David Pareus. Theodore Strack, in his Catechetical Vindications; John D'Outrein, in the Golden Treasury of the Doctrine of Truth, according to Godliness; and Jerome Van Alphon, in his Prologue to the Economy of the Palatinate Catechism, maintain, that the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism followed the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, in the order of the subjects which are introduced; thus, we find, first, concerning man's misery, Chap. I—III.; of deliverance, Chap. III—XI.; and of gratitude, Chap. XII—XVI.

The Catechism will always appear admirable, if it is judged in the light of that age. Beautiful is that first

question at the beginning of the Catechism, and it will always be held as a masterpiece in the estimation of every discriminating reader. The very pith and marrow of the whole Christian religion is nowhere presented, either in ancient or modern times, in words so few and yet so weighty. In what a captivating and lovely aspect the object and design of the Christian religion are presented? How every thing in religion is made to bear on the practice? What doctrine of Christian faith is not included in this question? What expression can be indicated, which does not insist upon practical obedience to the precepts of Christ? What motives, what incentives, what means, are here laid to our hands, to render the practice of Christian virtues easy! And all this in that age! Beautiful and beyond all commendation is the twenty-eighth question; and the exposition of the Apostle's Creed, of the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, is, to this day, the admiration of every theological scholar. No Catechism up to that period had so clearly, comprehensively, and truly presented the distinctive doctrines of the Reformed Church, as the Heidelberg. Even Zwingli's and Calvin's Catechism had given no such clear and beautiful exhibition of these great truths.

The doctrine of the Person of Christ, of the Eternal Godhead of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, of Justification, and especially that of the Sacraments, were more clearly expressed than the statements of Zwingli and Calvin on the same subjects. In the division of the Ten Commandments, the Catechism follows in the first, the Origenian analysis, and in this respect, it differs from other Churches. In relation to the doctrine of election and church discipline, the Catechism maintains a happy medium, because these subjects were, in that period, matters of bitter controversy. The strict doctrine of

Calvin respecting unconditional election, is not stated in round, full terms; indeed, men of great learning, such as Hugo Grotius, Holzhus, Jablonski, John Fabricius, and others, in the answer to the thirty-seventh question, in which it is asserted that Christ endured the wrath of God against the sin of the whole human race, insist that there is a confession of the general grace of God, and of the redemption of all men through Christ; but all expositors of the Heidelberg Catechism have hitherto declared against this view.

“Christ,” for so they explain the passage, “has endured the wrath of God against the sin of the whole human race, not as though he had reconciled all men, the lost as well as the elect, and had procured for all the forgiveness of sin. This, Christ himself denies; but Christ has suffered for the whole human race, first, in this respect, that his atonement and passion are perfect and sufficient, because, in themselves considered, Christ’s sacrifice and passion are of such value, that they are sufficient for all men and for every individual of the human race; and further, because they are the atonement and suffering, not merely of a righteous man, but of the true and eternal God. Then, also, Christ has suffered for the whole human race, in this respect, because all men and every individual of the human race in the whole world, who are delivered from the wrath of God, find reconciliation with God alone through Christ. Finally, *the whole world* denotes nothing else than the whole company of the elect and faithful.” John D’Outrein also explains “the wrath of God against the sin of the whole human race,” as meaning all the elect out of the whole human family, against the Remonstrants and other partisans, of the general grace and atonement of Christ. The whole assembly of Reformed divines at the Convention of The Hague, answers the Remonstrants,

who refer to the Heidelberg Catechism in vindication of their doctrine of general atonement: "If you will compare this passage with the other which we also adduce from the Catechism, you may readily perceive that the expression, *the whole human race*, is to be understood, not of all and every one without exception, even unbelievers, impenitent, and such as persist in their unbelief and impenitence, who, on account of their sins, shall endure the wrath of God for ever; but only of believers in the whole world, of whatever country or people they may be. This is certainly plain from the answer, for it is expressly said, 'that so, by his passion, as the only propitiatory sacrifice, he might redeem our body and soul from everlasting damnation, and obtain for *us*'—not for all and every one, as the brethren say, but for *us*, *i. e.*, for believers—'the favour of God, righteousness, and eternal life.' This answer concerns only believers."

In order to form a correct opinion of the Heidelberg Catechism, and to appreciate its beauty and excellence, we must not be controlled by expositions, but adhere to its original source.

The Heidelberg Catechism aroused an uncommon sensation and ferment in all the churches. It encountered friends and foes; it was eulogized and denounced; it was assailed and defended. Throughout the Palatinate it was introduced, without opposition, in churches and schools. The Elector Frederic III. prefixed to the first edition the preface, in which his decision was contained, and by this introduction, crowned the benefits which he conferred upon the Reformed Church. He also issued special ecclesiastical laws in relation to catechization, which are still extant in the church-order of the Palatinate. He appointed the catechization on the afternoon of the Lord's day, and the Palatinate theologians, who attended the famous national Synod at Dordrecht, stated that the



catechetical classes in the provinces of the Palatinate, were arranged in three classes, namely, boys and girls; young men and young women; old people and adults; and that the first were taught in the schools, and the two other classes were instructed in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. All attempts to exclude the Heidelberg Catechism, or to bring it into disrepute, utterly failed. The Elector gave it his strong support in all his provinces. Frederic III. and Prince Christopher of Wurtemberg, held a conference in the small town of Hilsbach, near Singheim. A warm friendship had for many years subsisted between the two princes, founded on congeniality of character and religious convictions; but the publication of the Heidelberg Catechism had kindled the flames of discord between their theologians. The princes were persuaded by a flattering unction, that a friendly conference between the disputants, might perhaps lead to some compromise. The divines of the Palatinate endeavoured in vain to convince the Elector that this opinion was a delusion. The conference was held in the Wurtemberg Convent, Maulbrun, in the presence of both princes, from the 10th to the 15th of April, 1564, and ended as all such conferences end. The effect of it was seen in bitter polemical writings, which aggravated the estrangement of the parties. Count Wolfgang, the Rhenish Palatine, Charles Margrave of Baden, and Christopher, Prince of Wurtemberg, declared to the Elector Frederic, in an elaborately written opinion, their apprehensions concerning the new Catechism, denounced it for openly advocating the views of Zwingli and Calvin; they appended an index, in which the defects of the Catechism were sharply censured. The Elector sent this Essay to the great Swiss theologian, Henry Bullinger, with the request that he would answer it. Bullinger did so, and defended the Palatinate Catechism. Frederic set out for

Amberg in company with Olevianus, who was a member of the Church Council. His endeavours to effect an organization of the Church of the Upper Palatinate, similar to that of the Rhenish Palatinate, were fruitless; however, he succeeded in founding a school at Amberg, on the model of the Heidelberg pedagogium. In the year 1556, the famous Diet of Augsburg was held. The Bishops along the Rhine, and the Chapters of the suppressed Convents brought their complaints before the Emperor. Many Protestant princes joined the opposition to Frederic III. The newly organized Reformed Church was in great danger of being overwhelmed. The whole assembly denounced the prince of the Palatinate, and called him to account for the Catechism which he had introduced. The Emperor and the States insisted that the Catechism should be rejected and forbidden. By his wise and resolute conduct, Frederic III. averted this peril. With great boldness and magnanimity the Elector spoke before this assembly. Said he, "As respects my Catechism, I know all about it; it is so fortified in the margin with proof-texts from Sacred Scripture, that it has maintained its ground, although some theologians have thought they could overthrow it, and have attempted to do so; but they have failed, and with God's help, I trust it will continue to stand." In the confession of his faith, the Elector thus expresses himself: "Especially, have certain restless spirits, moved by sheer ambition and determined malice, undertaken to condemn our Christian Church order and Catechism as contrary to true religion, and have cavilled at the same, and endeavoured to bring it into suspicion among simple folk, although they themselves cannot furnish a better, as may readily be proved from their own books, which they have put in print—but all which we, with the help and grace of the Almighty, have endured, and overcome,



because we have not allowed ourselves to be directed from the infallible guidance of his Divine word, nor to be deterred by fear of outward violence, but have administered our office and calling faithfully and with constancy; and have lately seen wonderful and manifest advantages accruing from the same, to the temporal and eternal profit, blessing, and welfare of our subjects, who have obediently submitted themselves to the acknowledged truth; and have also, with the word of God, stopped the mouth of the gainsayers, aforesaid, who have opposed our Christian Catechism and Church order, whereby also, the eyes of many have been opened, and they have been brought to the knowledge of the pure doctrine and to the right understanding of the true Christian religion."

After this storm ensued a brief calm; many exiled Netherlanders brought their industry and wealth into the Rhenish Palatinate. Fresh commotions arose among the theologians of Heidelberg, respecting the Church discipline, which Calvin had introduced into the little Genevan Republic. Some requested the Elector to inaugurate this system in the Palatinate also; others, for good reasons, opposed it. After protracted disputes, the Elector decided in favour of introducing Calvin's system of Church discipline, and it was established accordingly; but in the inflamed prejudices of the partisans, a thorn was rankling which soon developed dangerous sores.

The doctrines of Arius, who denied the eternal Godhead of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, found advocates in the Palatinate. The subtle speculations of certain learned Italians, who had come to Heidelberg, would probably have made but little progress, had the advocates of the Genevan discipline borne their triumph over their opponents with greater moderation. Into the embittered minds of the defeated party, these erroneous

presentations of doctrine were insinuated with a power of temptation proportioned to their alienation from the system to which the dominant party adhered. These speculations found their declared friends, who could not long remain concealed. John Sylvan, the Superintendent of Ladenburg, Jacob Suter, Pastor at Feidenheim, and Matthew Vehe, Deacon at Lautern, were brought under arrest to Heidelberg, July 15, 1570. Casper Neuser, the preacher in the Church of St. Peter, at Heidelberg, who was intimately connected with them, escaped a similar fate by flight. The Elector Frederic requested an opinion on their case from the Heidelberg and Swiss divines. The Heidelberg divines and the Saxon Judges of the Court declared John Sylvan guilty of a capital crime. To the honour of the head and heart of the civil judges of Heidelberg, let it be said, that they dissented from this opinion; but the Elector sided with the severer judgment, and the unhappy Sylvan, after a long imprisonment, was beheaded in the market square, at Heidelberg, December 13, 1572. The tragedy was not yet over; many learned men, who had deserved well of their country, were exposed to the arrows of suspicion, and in order to avoid them, voluntarily resigned their stations. Some years before the death of the Prince, the desired rest was granted. The evening of his honoured life he devoted to science and the dissemination of Christian knowledge. Ever since the period of the Peasant war and the disturbances of Münzer, partisans of this sect had lived in the Palatinate, and from the first they had been dangerous fanatics; but the disastrous and bloody issue of their insurrection had already contributed greatly to the purification of their moral and political principles. They now lived in quiet, and prosecuted with skill and profit, the peaceful arts of agriculture. Frederic sought to win them over

entirely; kindly relieved them of the restrictions which had been imposed on them, provided liberally for their sustenance during their sojourn at Frankenthal, and when he found that they were not to be won, generously gave these Anabaptists a home in his provinces.

The two distinguished Heidelberg divines, Tremellius and Francis Junius, published in the year 1574, the translation in Latin of the Bible, prepared by them from the original languages. The Elector and their learned cotemporaries held them in high appreciation for this noble work. Frederic made another attempt to gain the approbation of the Upper Palatinate for his Confession; but the excitement which ensued in consequence, at the Residence in Amberg, induced him to abandon the effort, and like its predecessor, this endeavour was fruitless. Another noble deed cheered the evening of his eventful life. He founded a school for the nobility at Setz. His design was to afford the young Protestant nobility a compensation in some degree for the loss of so many prebends at the Cathedral and Collegiate churches. Whilst this institution was gradually giving promise of good fruit, Frederic finished his course, October 26, 1576. Peace to thy ashes, noble, immortal Prince!

Whilst the Elector Frederic defended the Heidelberg Catechism against the persecution of the Princes, Wolfgang, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Christopher, Prince of Wurtemberg, and Charles Margrave of Baden, and personally, with equal courage and wisdom, vindicated it at the Diet of Augsburg, Ursinus contended against other learned men, who attacked the established Catechism of the country. In the preface to the vindication against the unfounded accusations and misrepresentations, with which the Catechism of Christian doctrine, published at Heidelberg in 1563, was unjustly laden, he expresses himself thus: "Whereas the serene and

noble Elector, the Palatine Frederic, our most gracious sovereign, not only in respect of the office devolved by God upon his Highness, but also, as is well known to many truth-loving people, from a Christian and most laudable disposition and desire to promote the honour of Christ and the edification of his Church, regarded this as the highest and most excellent object of his government and care, that a due knowledge and fear of God and Christian walk should be more and more planted and diffused among his subjects, and be transmitted to their posterity; and inasmuch as His Highness, together with all whose understanding is exercised in such subjects, saw and well considered, that such laudable edification of the Church could not be promoted with good and abiding results, without this prior foundation, that the youth be diligently and intelligently instructed in the true knowledge and fear of God; therefore, His Highness has enjoined upon and earnestly commanded divers God-fearing and experienced men, to prepare and publish a consistent and certain form of a Christian Catechism derived from the sacred Scriptures, which shall be adapted to the instruction of the youth and uneducated people of this land, in the most important articles of our true Christian faith. And now, when these persons, with becoming obedience and all possible diligence, have acquiesced in this command, and might certainly indulge the hope, that no one would be found who would manifest displeasure at this work undertaken for the true and fruitful edification of the Christian Church—it has happened to them, even as is wont, to those who exert themselves most earnestly and faithfully for the common welfare—yea even as it befel Christ himself. For, although many God-loving and sensible people have duly estimated and appreciated the zeal and labour expended for the promotion of such Christian



doctrine; yet have there been found many, who have rejected the greater part of the doctrine, which they have neither heard nor read, perhaps not so much out of hatred and ill will against us, as from prejudice formed through the absurd representations of others, partly because they are so much devoted to the opinions of men, that they reject without understanding that which they have read, so soon as it does not agree with their preconceived stupidity; or also, notwithstanding they do not understand it, yet because it is not pleasing or acceptable to themselves and others, contrary to their own conscience, condemn its doctrine as false. Especially have certain men acted in an evil and unchristian manner, who (to say nothing of their calumnies against innocent persons,) have ventured to slander and suppress right doctrine, which is conformable to God's word, with false imputations and misrepresentations. And some of these, either because they dare not come to the light, or because it is not convenient for them to do so, have circulated divers flying rumours among the people, and with impudent, malicious lips, have scattered, hither and yon, false reports, and issued tracts smeared with untruths and blasphemies. These, inasmuch as they shun the light and by such conviction of conscience publicly inflict more disgrace upon themselves, than we could possibly inflict by exposing them, are in our judgment, to be refuted in no other way, than by constant confession of the truth and diligent watch against those things of which they falsely accuse us. Some, but of these there are few, have ventured, out of heedless presumption and malice, openly to attack the truth. And, first of all, one man in the neighbourhood, when the Catechism was first published, issued a tract warning all people against it, who, as he is himself our neighbour, did much more warn against his own poison, those whom he sought to



attach to himself and prejudice against us; and inasmuch as all Christian and sensible people were much more disgusted not only by his flippant and manifold falsehoods, sarcasms, and calumnies, but also by his ungodly and monstrous perversions of Christian doctrine, than prepossessed against the truth, which he defamed and scorned like a buffoon and a knave—he may justly be regarded as unworthy of any farther answer. This man was Laurentius Albertius, who composed a treatise, warning against the poison contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, and addressed it to the cities of Speier, Worms, and other neighbouring towns. He was followed by another, Franciscus Balduinus, who, not so much from want of understanding, as from hatred of the cross of Christ, had given himself up to the worship of the Roman Antichrist, and sought to defame the truth (which he had formerly, in many places, openly proclaimed and taught,) with all sorts of calumnies and abuse which he had scraped together; and therefore, when one of the aforementioned tracts, written by a venomous, and, in his blindness, conceited enemy of the truth and defender of notorious error, and scattered here and there in German provinces, had come into his hands, he smeared and scribbled an appendix to it, adding his glosses not unlike the text, which was composed in part of articles which were wickedly perverted and maliciously condemned, abusing us, and all Churches which maintain the true doctrine, with divers falsehoods and opprobrious heretical epithets, according to his wont, and then published his screed, albeit without his name.

“Finally, a certain Matthæus Flacius Illyricus, who, for some years back, to the scandal of honest and Christian people, and the occasion of much unnatural discord, has disquieted many consciences and churches in Ger-

many; in order that he might satiate his envy and hatred, and be regarded by his party as the only light of the Christian churches, upon whom error has devolved the maintenance and defence of the truth against all heresies, and in order that no one may remain unassailed by him who will not labour for his advantage, has run at us also, and has thrust forth a treatise, which he calls a refutation of the Catechism, published in this place."

So much for Ursinus's notice of the first adversaries of the Heidelberg Catechism, given in the preface to the vindication. This polemical essay is printed separately; and is also appended to some German and Latin editions of the Catechism. It is found also in the complete published works of Ursinus, prefixed at the beginning; and in the edition of the Heidelberg Catechism, at Neustadt on the Hardt, 1595, it stands page 327. The full title is as follows: "Vindication against the unfounded allegations and perversions with which the Catechism of Christian doctrine is burdened; written by the Theologians of the University of Heidelberg, A. D. 1569." In the preface, Ursinus explains the reasons why, among many opponents, he regarded Flacius as worthy of answer. "Although three of them have come forward with public attacks upon the Catechism, we have proposed at this time especially to answer the accusation and perversion of the third and last, who has set himself forth as a refuter of the Catechism; and this, not only because this man is, in his own opinion and in that of his crew, specially regarded as the only steadfast and invincible champion of the truth, whose dreams and sophistries the whole world ought to hear and accept as the word of God; but also, because he stepped out last of all, and threw into a heap the best armour of all the others, that he might, as he thought, do good ser-

vice against us. Therefore, although he has given his name, and supposes that he will earn special honour for the victory which, in advance, he assigns to himself, we shall not name him, partly, because honest people must henceforth be ashamed to have anything to do with him personally, but above all, because we wish herewith to answer not only him, but other perverters and defamers of the same ilk."

Ursinus prepared another treatise in reply to the attacks of John Brentius and Jacob Andreas. These two had written a criticism upon the Heidelberg Catechism, in which they censured eighteen of the questions, and appended six special questions to the Elector, in relation to the Lord's Supper. Ursinus wrote in reply: "An answer to the criticism of certain theologians on the proof-texts from sacred Scripture, adduced in the margin of the Heidelberg Catechism, together with the answer and counter-question to six questions pertaining to the Lord's Supper. Written by Zachariah Ursinus. Neustadt, 1564, 1584." This vindication is also found in the German edition of the Catechism published at Neustadt, and in another Latin edition of 1585, and in the theological works of Ursinus. Thieleman Hesshus, notorious in the Palatinate history, the bitterest enemy of the Zwinglians and Calvinists, also stepped forth upon the arena, and wrote "a faithful warning against the Heidelberg Catechism, Erfurt, 1588." Not a soul answered him, and he endured the mortification of not being noticed. At the command of the Prince, the Saxon theologians were required to deliver their opinion concerning the Heidelberg Catechism, but it was rather a forced affair. These were exclusively opponents out of the Lutheran Church. The number of its enemies in the Romish Church was much greater. We shall become acquainted with some of them in the sequel.

During the reign of Frederic, no one concerned himself about them, and, in fact, their attacks were made so clumsily, and were so pitiful, that they needed no refutation; they fell of themselves, powerless to the ground.

The author of the Catechism, Zachariah Ursinus, rendered another good service in connection with its publication. Immediately after it was issued, Ursinus began to lecture upon it in the College, and explained it from beginning to end, once every year,—a work which he continued up to the year 1577. His pupils, in their eagerness to improve, gathered up a large portion of these lectures with ready pens, and secured the publication of these notes under Ursinus's name. This was first done at Neustadt, 1584, and afterwards at Geneva and Leyden. From the manifold discrepancies of such copies, it was soon evident how little part Ursinus had in the doctrinal statements and expressions contained in them, and therefore Pareus, who had himself heard Ursinus's lectures on the Catechism, was requested to examine them, remodel, and so arrange them, that they might present a greater resemblance to the style and matter of the original lectures. Pareus applied himself to this work, and gave to the Catechetical exposition of Ursinus a new form, in which it appeared for the first time at Heidelberg, in 1591, in four parts, with as many prefaces by Pareus; it was published again in the same place, in the years 1598 and 1607, and afterwards in repeated editions, in various places, incorporated with the works of Ursinus. Concerning other editions of the Catechetical works of Ursinus, Martin Lipenius and Jerome Van Alphen give authentic accounts, both in relation to those which under various titles preceded, as well as those which followed the improved edition of Pareus. The title of the genuine editions prepared by Pareus, is: "Zachariah Ursinus' Body of Christian doc-



trine of the Church Reformed from Popery, containing the Catechetical Expositions, variously presented in divers editions, but now finally, and recently, so revised and arranged from beginning to end, that it has been regarded as a new work, by David Pareus, with a double Index. Appended are Catechetical miscellanies of the first issues, revised and improved. Bremen, 1623."

Ursinus, from whose pen the Heidelberg Catechism flowed, might reasonably be expected to write the best commentary upon it; and so it is. The numerous editions of this book present a silent, and the loud eulogies of learned men, an eloquent testimony respecting it. Henry Alting justly adds, after boasting of the number of expositions and explanations of the Heidelberg Catechism: "Among all these expositions, those of Ursinus are the first and most excellent." D'Outrein and other divines express a similar opinion, and countless pastors of churches were trained for their work by the diligent use of them. Pareus, however, shares the honour of the exposition of Ursinus, inasmuch as he furnished them to his companions in the faith. Ancillon, in his miscellaneous critical writings, is right when he says: "David Pareus has prepared a capital Commentary upon the Heidelberg Catechism, through Zachariah Ursinus."

The value and use of the Heidelberg Catechism were almost destroyed in their first developement, when after the death of Prince Frederic in the year 1576, his son, Count Palatine Louis, who was addicted to the Lutheran doctrine, entered upon the government of the Palatinate, and ordered Luther's Catechism to be introduced in his dominions, instead of the Heidelberg Catechism. His brother, Prince John Casimir, however, retained the Heidelberg Catechism in the provinces entrusted to his rule. Hence, copies of the same are found, which



were printed about this time, upon whose title-page we read: "The Catechism, as used in Churches and Schools, formerly of the *electoral*, now of the *principality of the Palatinate*." Frederic III. had prepared a Will, in which he had manifested the greatest solicitude for the maintenance of his institutions. On his dying bed he requested his son, who was to follow him in the government, to grant him a personal interview, in which he proposed most urgently to enjoin upon him the maintenance of the Church order, and strict obedience to this last will and testament. Louis VI. declined to comply with the request of his dying father for an interview, and the regulations, contained in his will, respecting Church order, were treated with contempt. Sixteen days after his father's death, he comes to Heidelberg and orders the funeral sermon of the deceased Elector to be held by his Court preacher, Paul Schechzius, whom he brings with him for that purpose. Daniel Tossan, his father's Court preacher, is dismissed, and Caspar Olevianus, the most eminent teacher of divinity in the University, is visited with *house-arrest*. Booksellers are forbidden to sell any books which tended to the support of the Reformed Confession. Thence, the Elector returns to Amberg, dismisses the Reformed preachers from their stations, and reinstates on their former footing, the old usages, in the churches which had been assigned to them, under the former government. The preachers of Heidelberg, the mayor, and the magistracy, send a petition to the Elector at Amberg, in which they ask freedom for the exercise of their worship, and offer to transfer the Church of the Holy Ghost for the use of the advocates of his Confession. The Elector's brother, Prince Casimir, endorses this petition; but the Elector returns the petition to the Councils, with a severe rebuke, and answers his brother, that he will not, for

sake of his own conscience, accept, and much less can he grant the request of the petitioners.

In the following year, 1577, Louis comes with his court to Heidelberg, dismisses the Church Council and all the preachers from their stations, closes the only remaining church, (that of the Barefoot order,) the chapel of the Theological Faculty, which had been assigned as a place of public worship to the refugees from Frankfort, occupies all the stations with Lutherans, commands a new Church order to be prepared, and all who refuse to adopt it, are informed that their services are no longer required. Many families leave the city, and take refuge in the country of Prince Casimir. The new ministers who have come to Heidelberg, and to the country towns, constitute a strict and a more moderate party, and are designated as Ubiquitarians and Non-Ubiquitarians. The Elector Louis VI. seems to be more favourable to the latter party, to which both his court preachers, Paul and John Schechzius are attached, and makes it his business to let these opinions be known to the people. In the year 1580, the Elector Louis VI. subscribes the Book of Concord, and thereby completes the triumph of the Lutherans over the Reformed. All remaining public teachers in the University, and professors in the colleges, who, in matters of doctrine, incline to the views of Zwingli, or even only of Melancthon, must subscribe the Form of Concord, and whoever declines to do this, is declared unfit for the office of a public teacher. A general church visitation is the final measure in this revolution of ecclesiastical order under the government of Louis. According to the report of this visitation, in the city of Heidelberg, much had already been gained, and the party of its opponents, now utterly weakened, would no longer have been able to offer any opposition to the measures proposed for the effecting of unity of

faith; but before these measures can be applied, the Elector Louis VI. dies, in the strength of his manhood, October 12, 1583.

Soon after the death of Louis, the Heidelberg Catechism and the whole Swiss system of doctrine and church order were restored. Most opportunely, tidings of this event recalled Casimir from a theatre which was just beginning to be dangerous for him. From the camp at Deuz, opposite the city of Cologne, the Prince comes to Heidelberg three days after his brother's death, and assumes the guardianship of the young Prince Elector, and the government of the Palatinate. True, Louis VI. had left a last will and testament, as eight years ago his father had done before him; but neither was this respected. Contrary to the express arrangement of Louis VI., teachers of the Reformed faith are appointed for the education of the young prince. The leaders in Church and State, who have been expelled eight years ago, return. The administrator orders a consultation to be held with the Evangelical Lutheran Church commissioners and preachers at Heidelberg, concerning the restoration of the Church of the Holy Ghost to those of the Reformed persuasion. The resolute refusal of these men to accede to the wishes of the administrator does them more harm than good. Notwithstanding their objections, the Church is given over to the Reformed. The number of the Reformed, who are now in favour with the court, increases daily, and soon the ascendancy of their opponents becomes doubtful. Both Louis's court preachers are dismissed from their stations; the General Superintendent, the Church counsellors, and others of the so-called Evangelical party, are obliged to leave. The overthrow of the party opposed to the court seems inevitable. The fury of party spirit is rampant, and all attempts of the

administrator to restrain it, tend rather to fan the flames of discord than to quench them. The court resolves once more to exhibit the rare spectacle of a public discussion. It is instituted on the 4th and continues until the 10th of April, 1584; but its issue is without the desired result; there is great clatter and outcry, and both parties claim the victory. All the churches come into the possession of the Reformed; all vacant positions, both in the University and in the College of the Church Council, are occupied, for the most part, by the men who have, eight years before, been dispossessed. Throughout the whole country the Church order of Frederick III. was restored. The Church Council demands from the preachers and schoolmasters, who have subscribed the formula of the Concord, a declaration, that they will henceforth have nothing to do with this symbol of faith, except in so far as it agrees with the Divine Word, the Augsburg Confession, and the Apology for the same, and with other acknowledged symbolical books. The majority decline to make this declaration, and are dismissed from their positions. The Administrator Casimir is succeeded in the government of the country by his nephew, Prince Frederic the Fourth, who has been educated by him, and who adheres to the principles of his predecessor. The celebrated David Pareus, professor at Heidelberg, labours under his auspices; the Church enjoys rest, and the fame of the University reaches a height which it has hitherto not attained. He dies in the flower of his life, Sept. 9, 1610. Under the guardianship of Prince John of Deuxponts, his son Frederic V. succeeds him in the government, and is faithful to his father's example, and maintains the Church in all its interests, in the same condition in which his father had left it. He raises the estimation in which the Heidelberg Catechism is held; sends Palatinate



divines to the General Synod, at Dordrecht, 1618, by which the Heidelberg Catechism is exalted to the rank of a symbolical book.

Dark and heavy storm clouds gathered over the Church, and especially over the Palatinate, and broke in fearful tempests of fury and cruelty upon them. The dissatisfaction of several Catholic Courts in Germany, whom the treaty of Passau, and the religious peace which followed it, had for a time kept at bay, but had not yet subdued, exhibited itself in various occurrences, and threatened serious troubles to the German empire. The Protestant princes banded themselves under the name of the Union, against all assaults of the Papacy, and the Catholic princes, in opposition to it, formed themselves into "The League." A war was inevitable, and would have broken out, even had there been no disturbances in Bohemia. The position of President of the Evangelical "Union," which Frederic IV. had already occupied, was retained by his son, Frederic V., and involved him deeply in all the religious strifes of the German empire. Unfortunately for him, the most powerful of all the then Protestant Courts arrayed itself against the evangelical Union, whilst the powers of the League were consolidated in a compact alliance. At last, the fire which had long smouldered under the ashes, burst forth in flames. The explosion began in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and all Europe was convulsed. The royal Brief accorded by the Emperor Rudolph II., in 1609, to the Hussites and Protestants in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, by which religious freedom was secured to them; the liberties gained with so much difficulty, from the various regents of the provinces, extorted rather by the force of circumstances, than freely conceded to them, were assailed and violently withdrawn. Thus, the confidence, which is so essential



between rulers and people, was destroyed. In the midst of this contest between the Court and a jealous people, the Emperor Mathias died in 1619. The states of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, declared themselves independent of the government of his successor, Ferdinand II., and chose the Palatine Elector, Frederic V., as their King, August 16, 1619. Frederic hesitated to accept the proffered crown. His mother, Louisa Juliana, the wisest princess of her age, exerted all her influence to dissuade Frederic from accepting the crown: "Envy and hatred," said she, "are the real names of the friendship on which you rely; a religious war will grow out of this political contest." The Elector's wife, a daughter of James I. of England, Prince Christian of Anhalt, Prince Maurice of Orange, and the Prince of Bouillon, urged him to accept the crown, and Frederic consented. He travelled from Heidelberg to Bohemia, and the peace and prosperity of his subjects in the Palatinate went with him; he was crowned, October 25, 1619, with great pomp; he issued a very mild declaration in favour of the Catholic portion of his subjects; the pictures were removed only from the Cathedral at Prague. He entered upon a campaign against the Emperor, and was already at the gates of Vienna, but the Emperor, Ferdinand II., concluded a treaty with the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Elector of Saxony, against the King of Bohemia; and the French Court arranged a compact at Ulm, between the Evangelical Union and the Catholic League.

Ferdinand II., and Prince Maximilian, of Bavaria, formed a secret alliance against Frederic. The Spanish Field-Marshal, Spinola, made an incursion with an army from the Netherlands, and gained possession of the greater part of the Lower Palatinate, on the left bank of the Rhine. At Kreuznach, a Spanish regency was established, and the established Church institutions were

overthrown. Prince Maximilian and the Emperor's general, Bourquoi, invaded Bohemia, and Frederic, the King of Bohemia, was beaten at Weissenberg near Prague, and fled for his life. He and all his adherents were declared by the Emperor to be under the ban of the empire. Prince Maximilian gained possession of the Upper Palatinate. The imperial general, Tilly, subjugated all the cities of the Palatinate on the right bank of the Rhine, as far as Heidelberg and Mannheim. A ray of hope dawns upon the unhappy King. A few German princes, faithful adherents of Frederic V., raise a considerable body of troops for his assistance. Frederic himself returns to the Rhenish Palatinate; but after various adverse occurrences, the terrified King allows himself to be induced by the fallacious promises of his father-in-law, James I., to renounce the fortune of war. The imperial general, Tilly, seizes Heidelberg, and assigns the electoral palace as a residence to the Jesuits who had accompanied him. On the second day after this event, the first mass is held in the principal church in the city; the other churches are given over to secular priests and monks. The costly library is presented by Prince Maximilian to the reigning Pontiff, Paul. All ministers of the gospel are expressly ordered by Marshal Tilly to leave the city. Whole herds of foreign Monks come into the Rhenish Palatinate, and contend for the possession of the Convent property. The governments of Spain and Bavaria issue a decree, that every inhabitant must either go to Mass, or leave the country. The University is reorganized by the fathers of the Society of Jesus; and the whole external ecclesiastical condition of the country is now Romish. Hope has died out, when, all at once, the scene shifts. The Northern Hero, Gustavus Adolphus, lands with a small army in Pomerania, gains a decisive victory at

Leipzic in 1631, and in the same year recovers a large portion of the Rhenish Palatinate, and changes the religious condition of the country. The noble Gustavus dies on the field of Lutzen, 1632, a glorious death for the liberty and prosperity of Germany, and the cup of the unhappy Frederic's misery is full. When on the point of taking possession of his hereditary realm, he dies at Mayence, November 10, 1632. Under the guardianship and administration of the Count Palatine, Philip, of Simmern, Prince Charles Louis entered upon the government. The churches and church property were assigned to their former owners. An agreement was entered into between the Administrator and the Swedish Chancellor, Oxenstiern, respecting matters of religion and church order in the Palatinate, by which not only the free exercise of religious worship was secured to the evangelical Lutherans throughout the Palatinate, but it was stipulated also, that whenever, in any city, town, or village, they constituted the majority, the churches, parsonages, and parsonage revenues, should be conceded to them. The superintendencies and pastorates were again filled, and preaching, and catechization according to the Heidelberg Catechism, were conducted as formerly. Multitudes of refugees returned to their liberated fatherland; a rich contribution from Scotland assisted them to reorganize their churches and schools, and a joyful harvest promised to succeed the days of weeping; but the disastrous defeat of the Swedes at Nördlingen, August 26, 1634, blasted all these fair prospects. Heidelberg was again overrun with imperial and Bayarian troops. The whole land became a vast scene of rapine and plunder. The distress of the country reached its climax, when famine and pestilence added their scourge to the horrors of war. The Protestant preachers were all banished from the state. Desolation and sorrow increased

from day to day, and from the year 1636 until 1648, the distress of the few remaining inhabitants surpassed all power of description. . . . Golden days—days of rest and peace—returned at last, when the fury of the storm was spent. After negotiations continued through many years, the peace of Westphalia, 1648, at length brought rest to the oppressed country and the ruined church. The Elector Charles Louis was restored to all the temporal and spiritual rights and privileges which pertained to his station; only one single institution, that of Starkenberg, on the beautiful Bergstrasse, was lost, and the few Protestants who still remained in it either moved away, or gradually died out. The Elector did not obtain complete possession of the country until after the Nuremburg treaty in 1649. In the same year, the College of the Church Council was reorganized. Out of three hundred and forty-seven preachers, who lived in the Rhenish Palatinate before the war, only forty-two remained, and these were in the cities and towns held in possession by the Swedes. Of those driven into exile during the war, and scattered through all the countries of Europe, only fifty-four returned to their native land. Loth indeed were the enraged monks to retire from the convents and churches which they held in their possession; they protested and appealed to the terms of occupancy of the year 1624; but the restitution throughout the Palatinate was based on the articles of 1618, and they were compelled to give up everything. The authority of the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Swiss reformation in doctrine and Church discipline, are reestablished. The College of the Church Council, the pastorates, the schools, are again occupied according to the old order. The Elector accords perfect liberty of conscience to the Papists; but the public celebration of “their worship is confined to those localities in which it is secured to them



by special agreements with the neighbouring Catholic princes and bishops. The Lutherans enjoy the liberty and immunities which the peace of Westphalia guarantees. The Elector Charles Louis deserves great commendation for the flourishing condition of the Palatinate, which had recently been so cruelly devastated. The mental cultivation of the clergy, which had been terribly depressed by the tedious war, was a matter of great concern to him. He is the first Prince of the German empire who professed to be the patron of principles of religious toleration. His endeavours to effect a union of the different Christian communions were of no avail in that particular respect; but it was much, that he procured the preparation of a common liturgy for all Protestants in his provinces, although it was never perfectly introduced. In the midst of these noble efforts, Charles Louis died, August 28, 1680. He was succeeded by his son, Charles, whose entrance upon the government was full of rich promise, and gave strong support to the interests of the Reformed Church; but a melancholy disposition, the result of sickness, kept him aloof from public affairs; he died, May 16, 1685, and with him falls the main stay of the Zwinglian Confession. The Heidelberg Catechism became, from this time forth, an arena of perpetual strife; the most violent persecutions assailed it, and an end of it, in the Palatinate, had well nigh been made by fire and fagot.

Up to this time all attempts of the Papal court to uproot Protestantism, and keep the Roman hierarchy erect, had been frustrated. All the strokes of policy, and the power of the mightiest among men, had been invoked in vain; all the new orders which had been organised, laboured in vain for the overthrow of the new doctrine. Another plan was now adopted; the idea was nothing less than to bring over to the Papacy



the princes and regents of those countries in which Protestantism preponderated, by brilliant promises, and by holding up before them the prospect of earthly crowns. Already they had succeeded in winning over to the Papacy the Elector of Saxony, by the offer of the crown of Poland, and the provinces of the Palatinate came under the government of Catholic princes. The Elector Philip William, formerly Prince of Neuberg, and an adherent of the Church of Rome, enters, in the year 1685, on the government of the Palatinate. Vain is the protest of the Count of Palatine, Louis Leopold of Veldeuz. The close relation to the imperial house secures to the Elector Philip William the peaceable possession of the Palatinate. From Dusseldorf Philip William sends a written assurance to the Grand Steward, and the Privy Council, that he will maintain intact the Swabian treaty, and repeats this assurance to Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg. His regulations concerning matters of religious and church order breathe the spirit of moderation and equity; but certain suspicious expressions occur in them, to which, when his attention is called by the Church Council, he gives explanations calculated to allay the anxieties of his Protestant subjects. The choir of the Garrison Church must be given over for two years to the remaining Catholic inhabitants of Heidelberg, and, in 1686, the Jesuits are already in Heidelberg. The former court preachers of the Elector Charles are thrown into prison, and condemned to an ignominious and severe punishment. Notwithstanding the profound agitation of the people, the Gregorian Calendar is introduced, and, in 1687, the Catholic worship has been already every where established. By order of the Elector, the Catholics must have the free use of the bells of the Reformed churches, and of the church-yards. Fresh Catholic

clergy, and members of various orders make their appearance. Public processions are held, and a convent is built for the Capuchins. The Jesuits, the Monks, and other Romish priests insult the Protestants in various ways; their attacks are directed mainly upon the Heidelberg Catechism. Among all the questions of this Catechism, none endured so much contradiction and assault as the famous 80th question, concerning the difference between the Lord's Supper and the Popish mass. The Jesuits instituted a Thesis against it, at Heidelberg, in 1685; the Lutherans joined them in the attack, although from different motives and reasons. At the suggestion of the Reformed theologians, Fabricius and Mieg, a certain Nicolas Gärtler answered them both, and published, anonymously, a dissertation in defence of the Heidelberg, or Palatinate Catechism, notwithstanding the Elector had enjoined silence upon the disputants. John Louis Fabritius himself gave occasion to another dispute about this question, in 1687. On the 18th of January, he delivered a controversial lecture at Heidelberg, in the form of a dialogue between Philopistis and Anagnostis, in which he maintained, that in the 80th question nothing more was taught than what the Lutherans themselves held; and he laid special stress on the fact, that the ecclesiastical regulations of the Electors, Otto Henry, Frederic III., and Louis, agreed entirely in this respect. In answer to this discussion another made its appearance: "A new method of the Heidelberg Reformed to attack the Lutherans, on the occasion of the dissertation upon the 80th question of the Heidelberg Catechism, held at Heidelberg, January 18, 1687; a theological discussion under the presidency of John Frederic Mayer, April 29, 1687, subjected to examination by M. Nathaniel Falk, at Wittemberg. Dr. Mayer here endeavours to prove

that this new method had been invented by the Reformed only in order to excite the Catholics against the Lutherans. Both dissertations, Mayer's, and that of Fabritius, are printed together, and translated from the Latin into the German language, with the following title: "Some Notice and Explanation of the 80th Question of the Heidelberg Catechism, as it was set forth in a dialogue between Philopistis and Anagnostis, by John Louis Fabritius, Heidelberg, 1687, and refuted by John Frederic Mayer, so far as it is contrary to Lutheran doctrines. By this means put in print out of regard for those who may desire information on this matter. Published at Leipzig, 1720." The arrangement of the above Latin treatise is somewhat changed in this publication; the corollaries which had been appended to the dissertation of Fabritius were omitted, and some remarks and explanations on the 80th question were added.

The unhappy French war broke out in 1688. The miseries of this war were aggravated by the terrible evils of intolerance, and the spirit of persecution. The blame of all the disasters and confusion which arose from it, is due to the malicious frivolity with which the French generals favoured the unlawful assumptions of certain of the country clergy, which the Elector Philip William, who was soon dispossessed of his provinces, was unable to hinder. The bailiwicks of the Palatinate on the left bank of the Rhine, were taken possession of by the enemy in this year, and the ecclesiastical condition of the Protestants in that district was subjected to the most deplorable change, through the violence of the French. The property and revenues of the churches were seized by the generals of the hostile armies. In the bailiwick Germersheim, which France designed to retain, all the churches, parsonages, and schoolhouses

were transferred to the Catholic priests and orders, and in other Reformed churches, under favour of the French generals, the *Simultaneum* was introduced. The fortune of war subjected the Palatinate on the right bank of the Rhine to the French, and the city of Heidelberg was surrendered by agreement, October 25, 1688. True, as usual, the promise was given to attempt no change in church affairs; but it is well known how little regard is shown to the sacredness of a promise once spoken; the chief commanders of the French army paid no respect to it.

On the left bank of the Rhine the distress was extreme, and the heaviest blows fell on the Reformed preachers and schoolmasters. A large number of them were taken as prisoners to Alsace and Mayence, because, bereft of all income, they were unable to pay the heavy contributions levied upon them; others, terrified by this barbarity, betook themselves to flight. The Reformed worship was almost entirely suspended, and the schools could no longer be held. The Church Council appealed to the court at Paris; but obtained neither answer nor mitigation of the sufferings of the oppressed. The Elector Philip William issued an order from Neuberg, on the Donau, to reduce the number of the Palatinate councillors, and officers in the Reformed courts of justice in the country, and also that of the preachers and schoolmasters. In this way many were dismissed.

Philip William died at Vienna, September 2, 1690. In the midst of these sad events, the Papists celebrated their triumph over the Protestants, and the Jesuits scoffed in the most wanton manner at the Heidelberg Catechism. They deemed it especially proper to make a noise at this time, about the 80th question. They published two tracts against it. The first bears the title—"Prosecution for defamation, instituted in the court



of naked and simple Reason, by Truth against the Calumny which is imputed to the Catholics in the 80th question of the Heidelberg Catechism." The other bears the inscription: "Calumny between Sacrum and Sapum." James L'Enfant, who then resided at Heidelberg, opposed them courageously and vigorously. He wrote against these tracts two letters, which were appended to his "Preservative against reunion with the Roman See," and constitute the fifth part, or volume, of this book, with the title, "The Innocence of the Heidelberg Catechism." L'Enfant inflamed the Jesuits with such hatred by this means, that his superiors advised him, on the ground of his personal safety, to betake himself to some other place. His vindication of the Catechism met with a sad fate; the greater part of the copies was burnt in a fire which broke out in Heidelberg. Thirty-two years afterwards, this resolute defender determined to reprint it with an appendix. It appeared with the following title, in the French language: "The Innocence of the Heidelberg Catechism, in opposition to two tracts of a Jesuit of the Palatinate; to which are appended, Discourses on the Catechism, the Formularies and Confession of Faith. By M. L'Enfant, Amsterdam, 1723."

Under the successor of Philip William, his son, the Elector John William, the distress of the country, and the misery of the Protestants were terribly aggravated. The armies of the powers which were allied against France gained some advantage over the enemy, and one part of the Rhenish Palatinate was wrested from him; but the fortune of war again declared itself for the armies of France, which had been heavily reinforced. By one of these armies Heidelberg was taken, May 11, 1693, and after unheard of cruelties inflicted on the inhabitants, their city was laid in ashes.



The mischief resulting to the Protestant Church in the Palatinate from this sad calamity, was irreparable. In the country occupied by the enemy, law and order have no voice; the vacant stations are not occupied; the College of the Church Council is composed, in the year 1693, of two persons, John Louis Fabritius and John Salmeith, of whom, the former resided at Frankfort, the latter at Nuremberg. The untiring energy of Fabritius wrestles against the storms of adversity, and saves all that can be saved in these unhappy times. The majority of the inhabitants flee from the devastated cities and towns. The Romish orders remain and occupy the greater part of the churches and parsonages. Before the close of the year 1693, a hundred Reformed churches, with a great many parsonages and school-houses, have fallen into the hands of monkish fraternities. At last, in the year 1697, the peace, so long desired, is concluded at Ryswick; but the clause of the fourth article of this treaty of peace, embitters all the joy which the Protestants might have derived from it, and places them in a position more disadvantageous than that in which they had been during the war, because, by virtue of this treaty, all the changes in the Church establishment, effected during the war, are made permanent by law. The condition of the Protestants now becomes deplorable in the extreme. In the bailiwick of Germersheim, the subjects of the Palatinate lose not only the churches and church property, but freedom of conscience and worship also. The fate of these people was, beyond description, wretched. In the bailiwick of Kreuznach, the Clerk of the district seized, by military execution, many of the churches and parsonages. The entire church property of the Reformed was sequestered, and a commission composed of

members of the Electoral Council was appointed to carry the sequestration into effect.

By an electoral edict, the Simultaneum for the three Confessions adopted in the German empire, is introduced in all churches throughout the country. This blow strikes none but the Protestants, because the churches which have been taken from them, remain, by express restriction, in the private possession of the Catholics; the churches connected with Convents, enjoy exemption by virtue of another decree to that effect. The edict respecting the Simultaneum was carried into effect by military force. The charity funds in the Reformed churches were declared common by an electoral decree, and great changes were introduced in the magistracy, in the cities and throughout the country.

Like an angel of mercy, the Elector of Brandenburg steps forth and takes an affectionate interest in his oppressed brethren of the Reformed faith. But for his mediation, neither the Heidelberg Catechism nor the Swiss Confession would have preserved their existence in the Palatinate. An appeal had already been made to the Body of the religious states, at Regensburg, on account of these ecclesiastical grievances. The evangelical States had already transmitted an exposition, through the ambassadors of the Palatinate, to the Elector John William; but little attention was paid to it. The attempt was made to evade the matter by artifices. The Elector Frederic, of Brandenburg, now empowered the Baron Von Wylich, at Botzlaer, to make earnest representations, in the name of the evangelical States, to the Elector John William, in relation to a removal of these religious grievances. The ambassadors of England and Sweden, together with the Dutch Republic, joined in this demand. Protracted negotiations were instituted with the Electoral Court by these ambassa-

dors. The Electoral Court attempted to evade the main point and a final settlement. At last, the Elector of the Palatinate communicated his ultimatum to the Baron Von Wylich, March 18, 1700; it did not satisfy the evangelical States, and on the 10th of April, the ambassadors took leave of the Elector's Court.

The Corporation of the evangelical States now appealed to the Court of the Emperor, and a deputation of the empire was appointed to investigate the religious grievances in the Palatinate; but the Catholic portion of this committee could not agree, as was always the case, with the evangelical portion, in relation to the mode of redressing these grievances. King Frederic I., of Prussia, gave the Catholic clergy of the three principalities of Halberstadt, Magdeburg, and Minden, to understand, that if, within the space of six weeks, the state of affairs in the Palatinate was not changed, the threat which he had already made respecting the sequestration of their property and restrictions upon their public worship, would positively go into effect. Full of anxiety and alarm, Father Brüninghof, the Superior of the Capuchins at Halberstadt, sets out with all despatch to Regensburg, and makes a remonstrance to the Catholic States, but without result. King Frederic, without farther parley, appointed a commission, June 9, 1705, which at once took possession of the property of the Convents and Catholic churches of the three principalities, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Minden. By these earnest proceedings, the imperial Court was induced to send an admonitory note to the Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate; from this ensued the first declaration from the Elector John William, which was not altogether unfavourable; but it was not deemed satisfactory. The negotiations were continued at Dusseldorf, and the interim compromise was put in effect, and appeared in

print in November, 1705, under the title of the Palatinate Declaration.

On all occasions, when attacks were made on the Reformed, the Heidelberg Catechism was the target at which the main blows were aimed. A noted enemy appeared against it in the beginning of this century. Christian Rittmeyer, a member of the Elector's privy council, went over to the Romish Church, and in 1707, wrote "Catholic remarks on the Heidelberg Catechism, in several sections." In this treatise, he attacks certain questions of the Catechism, proves that they tend to the defamation and dishonour of his prince, defends the Popish doctrines of the Mass, the Invocation of the Saints, the worship of pictures, Tradition, Good works, Purgatory, etc. Many theologians arrayed themselves against this influential enemy. The Professors of Theology at the University of Heidelberg, Louis Christian Mieg, and John Christian Kirchmeyer, who had been challenged by name in Rittmeyer's treatise, issued, in reply to it, "Christian Observations respecting the first section of the Catholic Remarks on the Heidelberg Catechism by Mr. Christian Rittmeyer, of the Elector's Council, in which an inquiry is instituted, whether the article touching the Sacrifice of the Mass, agrees with the Faith of the Primitive Christian Church, by the Reformed Professors of Theology at Heidelberg; printed in 1707." Another title is in these words: "Christian Observations of the Reformed Professors of Theology at Heidelberg, on the Catholic Remarks upon the Heidelberg Catechism by Christian Rittmeyer, of the Elector's Council. Heidelberg, 1704." Judged by the title, this treatise is distinct from the former; but in the discussion they agree fully; for in the latter, also, there is a refutation of the first section of Rittmeyer's remarks, and nothing more. Rittmeyer was not silenced. He was



particularly provoked, that the Heidelberg Professors had represented Vincentius Levinensis, in their refutation of the preface to the Catholic Remarks, as a semi-pelagian and a heretic. Thereupon, he published the following treatise: "Christian Rittmeyer's, member of the Elector's Council, introductory admonition, and earnest request, addressed to the resident gentlemen, Professors of Theology, that they would be pleased hereafter, in answering his Catholic Remarks, to adhere more closely to the truth than they have done in the recent publication of their Observations, wherein twenty-five untruths, on one-half sheet, are detected, and with all modesty, are pointed out, together with the assured promise, that between two and three hundred similar instances shall, in a future refutation, be exposed. Heidelberg, December 31, 1707."

In reply to this rejoinder, the Professors published "The Christian Warning of the Reformed Professors of Theology at Heidelberg, on the preceding Admonitions of Mr. Christian Rittmeyer, member of the Elector's Council, and their pertinent request addressed to him, that in his future answers to their Christian Observations, he would be pleased to adopt another method, and first refer to the authors whom he quotes, before he accuses them of false allegations, and then investigate the matter in the fear of God; wherein, also, the nullity of the twenty-five untruths, and of other rejoinders from him, is shown. Heidelberg, January 17, 1708."

Here the controversy stopped; neither the one party nor the other published anything more on the subject. The Elector gave the parties to understand, that these polemical writings displeased him. The Elector was, in fact, so great a friend of the Papists, and a still more devoted supporter of the Jesuits, that he could not bear to have anything written against them. He gave the



Jesuits various positions as Professors in the University, the rich Convent of Neuburg, near Heidelberg, and the revenues of the Branchweiler Hospital, which formerly belonged to the Church property of the Reformed. The Jesuit, Paul Usleber, defended, in a public lecture at Heidelberg, certain Theses, which gave occasion to violent commotions. The Elector John William died, June 8, 1716.

Under the administration of Charles Philip, who took possession of the Palatinate immediately after the death of his father, a terrible tempest burst upon the advocates of the Heidelberg Catechism. The storm was preceded by a pleasant calm. Charles Philip introduced many good and beneficial regulations in the country, and golden days were expected under his government. All at once, April 24, 1719, a decree is issued by the Elector, which forbids his subjects all farther use of the Heidelberg Catechism; this decree was repeated, May 2; and notwithstanding the intense excitement produced by it, the order was put in force in most places by the magistrates. All that had hitherto been done against the Catechism seemed trivial compared with the uproar which was now made against it. A Romish publisher ventured to issue a new edition of the Heidelberg Catechism; he printed on the title-page the Electoral coat of arms, and the words, "with permission of his Highness, the Elector." This gave the Papists an opportunity for strife, and persuaded the Elector, who was naturally of a mild disposition, to issue the following mandate: "That in all the Electoral provinces, the Catechism, the use of which in the Reformed churches, was a source of great scandal, and which had been printed in his name, and with the Electoral arms, should be suppressed, not only because this proceeding was impudent, scandalous, and worthy of punishment, but also, because

the 80th question, and other articles, were contrary to the Elector's majesty, the laws of the realm, and other imperial decrees, which had recently been promulged. Wherefore, the Reformed Consistories, and all subject to them, were admonished to yield obedience to the present order within three months at farthest, and to secure all copies in which the 80th question and other articles were contained. And in order that this Electoral decree might go into force at once, the government issued a decree to the Reformed Church Council, May 2, in which they were commanded to call in all copies of the new edition, and in addition, to take measures, that in future no copies in which the aforesaid 80th question, and other offensive things which were not to be endured, should be brought into the Electoral provinces.

The Reformed Church Council reported, hereupon, that the new edition had been published, not by them, but by a Catholic book-printer, who had secured the Elector's permission, as far back as 1699, to print the school books and catechisms of the Reformed Church; that, without the knowledge of the Council, he had affixed the arms of the Elector, together with the words which had given such offence, respecting the permission and authority of the Elector; that, so far as concerned the use of this Catechism, ever since the Reformation, it had been used as a symbolical book by the Reformed, in churches and schools, both in this country and in other kingdoms, and also, in the year 1618, had been declared and established as such, by the Synod of Dort; and, inasmuch as the Elector Philip William, of blessed memory, when his Privy Council had held a conference with the Church Council in 1685, upon this very 80th question, had allowed the Reformed to retain the use of their Catechism, without molestation, and

had enjoined only this, that they should neither condemn his Electoral Highness personally, nor denounce other Catholics as idolaters; and that therefore it could not be forbidden, either by the decree of the empire, or by the mandate recently promulged, just as little as from a Catholic stand-point, the anathemas of the Council of Trent, and the Bull of Pope Pius VI., could be included in the defamatory articles which were prohibited. In view of all this, they hoped that his Electoral Highness would not regard the use of their Catechism as an innovation, but rather, serenely take into consideration, how painful it must be to his Reformed subjects if they were deprived of their Catechism, which was their only symbolical book, and their sole means of instructing the youth in religion; moreover, that if the same should be changed, they would be compelled to separate from their co-religionists, and from their doctrinal confessions, inasmuch as they constantly used the Catechism, just as it is printed in questions and answers. In addition, the Church Council assured him, that as the Reformed refrained from condemning others, it would always be borne in mind, at this point, that there is a great difference between the condemnation of a doctrine and of persons, and that least of all, should any inference be drawn prejudicial to the noble person of the Elector, or any other Catholics. Finally, they most humbly beseech his Electoral Highness, inasmuch as he is bound by official obligation, to see to it that the Catechism which has been assailed, shall be retained, on the one hand, not to take it amiss that they cannot give the desired order, and, on the other, to command his officials to refrain from the suppression."

This written representation was accompanied by a verbal message; but nothing was accomplished by either. The answer was returned, that the mandate

which had been issued was final, and all those who presumed to defend the Catechism by declarations of this sort, or to exert themselves in any way for its retention, should be severely punished. At the same time, the government of the Elector demanded the nave of the church of the Holy Ghost, at Heidelberg. The Church Council resisted the demand, and the Government took forcible possession of the church. The Church Council reported the matter, citing other grievances also, to the Corporation of the Evangelical States, at Regensburg. Nearly all the Protestant powers of Europe, particularly the Kings of England and Prussia, the States of Holland and West Friesland, and the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, took a deep interest in this matter, and endeavoured to persuade the Elector to annul these innovations. Pope Clement V. took pains to confirm the Elector in the principles which he had expressed.

After several fruitless endeavours to bring the Elector to another decision, the deplorable measure of reprisals was adopted by some of the Evangelical States. The Prince of Hesse-Cassel ordered the Catholic church at St. Goor and Langenswalbach to be closed; the King of England that of Zelle, and the King of Prussia shut up the Cathedral at Minden, and sequestered some monasteries in the Principality of Halberstadt. Moved by these decided measures, the Elector Philip surrendered the Church of the Holy Ghost to the Reformed. The Reformed courts took the part of their oppressed brethren of the same religious persuasion, in relation to the suppression of the Catechism, and urged the Elector, both by writing and by embassies, to grant the public the free use of this symbolical book; but, at first, their application met with little attention. The Elector, through his minister, declared himself to this effect: "That his intention never had been to enjoin



upon his Reformed subjects the least command which could affect their principles, in matters of faith, in the smallest degree; but he desired only that which was contained in the 80th question, and other articles, implying disrespect and contempt of his majesty, the Emperor, together with other crowned heads of the Catholic faith, and of his own person, as king of the country, should be omitted, because such abusive language and maledictions, which were infused into the children, in churches and schools, as it were, with their mother's milk, were not only in themselves scandalous in the commonwealth, injurious, and altogether intolerable on the part of subjects toward their Catholic rulers, but had also been declared unjustifiable by Protestant theologians and lawyers."

To this, the Prussian Envoy, M. Von Hecht, replied: "Just as little as the evangelical princes and states of the empire presumed to make any alteration in the freedom of conscience, so wisely secured in the articles of compromise, though the propositions and decrees of the Council of Trent, and the Confession of Pius VI., and other symbolic books of the Catholics, were inconsistent with that liberty, notwithstanding it was plain as the light of day, that curses and maledictions were contained in these, not only against the doctrines of the Church, but also against persons; would they be content, that his Electoral Highness should undertake to change anything in the Heidelberg Catechism, or to forbid its unrestricted use, seeing that more than 150 years ago, at the Diet of Augsburg, it had been defended, and subsequently introduced into all Reformed Churches as a symbolical book, and its doctrines had been adopted, and by virtue of the toleration of the Reformed faith, had been established by treaty in the German empire. What was taught in the 80th question, concerning the

difference between the the Lord's Supper and the Popish Mass, belonged to the fundamental doctrine of the Evangelical Reformed religion, and its open and unrestrained profession to liberty of conscience, by virtue of which those churches included in the Roman empire, were free to confess openly whatever they believe, according to their principles, and therefore might not, and could not be compelled to leave out, or alter what they say in their symbolical books, and by this means, in a measure to retract their former doctrine."

Even this representation failed to produce the desired effect. The states of the Palatinate insisted on the alteration of the 80th question, which could not be symbolical, because it was first printed with the Catechism in 1684. The Prussian minister adhered to his opinion, and proved that the gloss, "accursed idolatry," had always been in the Catechism, and might be found in the first edition of 1563. Upon this the envoys of Prussia, England, Holland, and Hesse-Cassel, engaged in a verbal conversation with the minister of the Palatinate. The Palatine President, M. Von Hillesheim, spoke strongly, and with great bitterness, against the Heidelberg Catechism, and maintained: "His Electoral Highness had a perfect right to forbid it; the 80th question contained real calumnies, and was appended only to retaliate on the Council of Trent; the Emperor Maximilian had expressly forbidden it; and it could not be proved that it had been allowed by subsequent enactments of peace: the adoption by the Synod of Dort did not concern the empire: the arms of the Elector, and the assumed permission, had been fraudulently imprinted, and the offence demanded punishment; the Question must be altered; then the use of the Catechism would not be prohibited, and complete religious liberty would be allowed."

The ambassadors maintained, on the other hand: "There were no calumnies in the Catechism, but simply the fundamental articles and doctrines of the Evangelical Reformed religion; they knew nothing about the special prohibition of the Emperor Maximilian II.; but they did know that the Elector Frederic III., in the year 1566, had laid the Heidelberg Catechism before the Emperor, and the whole Roman empire, at the Diet of Augsburg, and had defended it; also, subsequently, without this Catechism ever having been forbidden in any treaty of peace, or in any other decrees of the empire, the Reformed religion had been adopted and established by the Peace of Westphalia, and the same religious privileges had been conferred and settled upon them as upon others. The adoption of the Heidelberg Catechism by the Synod of Dort, had been done, not for Holland only, but all foreign churches represented at this Synod, had also accepted and publicly adopted it as a symbolical book, so that it neither could, nor would be permitted to other religious denominations to prescribe what should be believed and taught. Besides, the Electoral arms and the alleged authority might be omitted; the Church Council had nothing to do with that; the Catholic publisher had inserted these without their knowledge, and he was the proper person to answer for it."

Whilst these public disputes about the 80th question of the Heidelberg Catechism, and other religious grievances of the Reformed, in the Palatinate, were under consideration, the matter came before the throne of the Emperor. An imperial manifesto was addressed to the Elector, in the beginning of 1720, in which he was advised and admonished to charge the Church Council, and other learned men, to investigate the offensive and objectionable question, and arrange, explain, and state it, both in respect to the matter and

the words, in accordance with the ordinary principles and regulations of the empire, and if this was introduced into the work, immediately to allow the free use of the Catechism to his subjects. This imperial order induced the Elector to command the Reformed Church Councillor, Prof. Mieg, to consult with the Vice-Chancellor, Von Metzger, and Privy Councillor Bush, and also with the Lutheran Consistorial Director, Schlosser, and mutually to take into consideration the amendment of the 80th question. Doctor Mieg hesitated, for good reason, to consult with the persons above named; therefore, another order was addressed to him by the Elector, and to the President of the Reformed Church Council, that they should draw up an opinion as to the best mode of adjusting this matter of the Catechism, in accordance with the gracious intention of his majesty, the Emperor. In pursuance of this commission, they transmitted to the Elector an elaborate discussion, in which they, in the first place, show, by many and weighty reasons, that it is not in their power to alter the Catechism in the least. Secondly, they declare solemnly, that the answer to the 80th question was inserted, not with the design to insult and defame others, but only under the impulse of a conscience persuaded by the word of God; and that the reference is made, not to persons, but to doctrine, concerning which, judgment must be expressed according to truth, while personal opinions are to be uttered in love. Finally, they humbly beseech the Elector graciously to allow his Reformed subjects to retain their Catechism without any alteration; but, in order that there may be no possible derogation from the respect and honour due to his Highness, they deem it advisable that he issue a manifesto, in which he should assign as reasons for the order, suppressing the Catechism, first, that his arms and name and permission had been imprinted



without authority, because without his knowledge and consent; secondly, because it had appeared to him, that in the 80th question and the subsequent comments, the persons of Roman Catholics were accused of a damnable and accursed idolatry; but that after the Electoral Church Council had given a written and most humble assurance and declaration that, on this point, it was to be specially borne in mind, that there is a distinction to be made, in respect of judgment, between doctrine and persons; and, moreover, that this judgment is not pronounced against the person of his Highness, or of any other Catholics, he, at the earnest entreaty, and as proof that his intention had never been to oppress his Reformed subjects in matters of religious worship and conscience, would permit the said Reformed Catechism to be printed and sold in his dominions, and to be used without restriction, in churches and schools, but with the following provisos: 1. That the Electoral arms and alleged permission, or authority, should be omitted; 2. That the gloss in the 80th question, which is not authorized, should be left out, or more mildly expressed; 3. That in churches and schools, it should be strongly impressed upon the Reformed, that the Catechism speaks of doctrine, and not of persons, and therefore does not call any one an accursed idolater; therefore, also, all Reformed persons shall refrain from applying such terms to their fellow Christians; 4. That the Catechism, in this doctrine, is concerned more with the instruction and admonition of the Reformed, and of youth, than unnecessarily to pronounce judgment and condemnation upon other churches; therefore, also, 5. That on all sides, religious denominations, both in the pulpit and elsewhere, shall refrain from all condemnation of persons, and from all cursing, defaming, and abuse of others; 6. Those, however, who shall do such things,

shall be severely punished as transgressors of the Elector's command, of the laws of the kingdom, and of the recent manifesto of the Emperor."

This opinion was approved by the Elector, who immediately published an order, in almost its very words, at Schwezzingen, May 16, 1720, by means of which he declared his gracious pleasure, that the Catechism which had by a former decree been suppressed, might again be printed and used, without restriction, by all the Reformed in the Palatinate, until such time as might be otherwise ordered by the entire kingdom; with this express and well understood condition, however, that on the title-page of the Catechism, the Electoral arms, together with the words, "by the Elector's authority," also, "with the Elector's permission," shall be erased; and as to the contents of the same, the comment on the answer to the 80th question, which contains an unfounded, offensive, and obnoxious opinion, which is incongruous with the text, shall be left out; and, besides, this declaration and order shall be printed word for word, and appended to the new edition.

The Court of the Elector attempted, subsequently, to excite new scruples, because it was intimated to the Elector, that the gloss on the 80th question had been first inserted in the year 1686 by the Court preacher, Langhausen, and although the Prussian minister produced a copy, published in 1609, in which the gloss, together with the texts of sacred Scripture, was printed, yet a brief was issued by the Electoral government, August 17, 1720, in which a report was demanded from the Reformed Church Council, what kind of Heidelberg Catechism had been presented to, and adopted by the Synod held at Dordrecht in the year 1606? But inasmuch as the date of the year mentioned in this brief, as that in which the Synod of Dort was held, contained

a gross error, for it was held, not in 1606, but in 1618 and 1619, the scruple which had been excited, was of the less importance, because the Reformed Church Council had sufficiently acknowledged, in the memorial already adduced, that such glosses were not valid, and had voluntarily consented to their omission. Thus the famous dispute about the 80th question was settled at the close of 1720, and the Reformed retained their cherished Catechism, together with the contested question, without the slightest alteration.

This controversy involved another dispute, which, although not very important, was conducted with great acrimony. The celebrated Hamburg theologian, Erdmann Neumeister, criticised in a characteristic treatise, the distinction which the Reformed Church Council of the Palatinate had made, in order to save their Catechism, between doctrine and person in respect to the Mass, which the Catechism calls an accursed idolatry, and also, between material and formal idolatry, of which the one is sufficient to ensure condemnation, but the other is not always. On this he made the remark: "Oh! how this must sooth the Papists, when they worship the wafer, the saints, pictures, and relics! In all this, the Reformed recognise them as fellow Christians! No man of the Reformed dare say to them, that they commit idolatry in so doing; suppose it is only a material idolatry, which is not always sufficient for condemnation, the form is necessary to give the thing existence; if the Popish idolatry were not formal, it could be no real idolatry! Let a Papist hear this. Oh! how it will confirm him in his worship of the wafer, the saints, and other things which are not God! How softly he will repose on this Reformed cushion! How eagerly he will persist in his accustomed idolatry!"

In opposition to this, a tract made its appearance

in the Palatinate, with the title: "A short answer to the Extract of Mr. Neumeister, in which the distinction between material and formal idolatry is affirmed, and is also confirmed by the testimony of some Lutheran theologians, particularly the elder and younger Calixtus." At Regensburg, also, a small tract was circulated, on material and formal idolatry; the author of it, probably a layman, pushes the matter still farther, and takes a loftier and more earnest view of it. He is of the opinion, that all who were saved in the Romish Church before the Reformation, notwithstanding they believed the transubstantiation of the wafer, and worshipped it on this ground, were not idolaters. In this connection, he observes, that in all conditions of peace and decrees of the empire, all opprobrious epithets, abuse, and denunciation of the persons of those who are of a different religious persuasion, was most strictly forbidden, but that no abuse can be more gross than to represent any one as an idolater. Finally, he draws this conclusion, that in order to regard a Catholic as an idolater, something more is requisite than to believe transubstantiation, to assist at the Mass, or to read it, which is common to all Catholics; therefore, a distinction must be made between idolatry in the abstract, and idolatry in the concrete, or between general idolatry and special; or between idolatry in itself considered, and an actual idolater and a worshipper of images! The learned men who mark the course of these disputes, append some one thing, others another. They reject the distinction between material and formal idolatry, with which the Syncretists are accustomed to help themselves, and justify, on the other hand, that between idolatry in the abstract and idolatry in the concrete, which the author of the Regensburg treatise had confounded with the other; only, this distinction must be used in a right



way, and prudently. The main point depends always upon its special application to this person, or the other, in which Christian wisdom and modesty should always act prudently, and, except in a case of reproof, or in representing the soul's peril, abstain most tenderly from judging and condemning.

After various imperial rescripts, a manifesto is promulgated by the Emperor, addressed to the Elector Charles Philip, by virtue of which all changes in matters of religion, adopted subsequently to the conditions of peace agreed upon at Baden, shall be done away with within four months. This regulation, instead of deciding everything, gives occasion to the contending parties to raise new questions of dispute. The Elector Charles Philip appoints a mixed religious commission, which is to abrogate all changes introduced since the stipulations of the treaty of Baden. The Evangelical States regard the measures adopted by the Elector as unsatisfactory, and send an envoy to the Court of the Elector, in the person of John Von der Reck, a member of the Elector of Hanover's Council. The commission, on religious matters, makes, as usual, but slow progress. The Elector issues strict and repeated orders to the commission and the magistrates, respecting the abrogation of these grievances, and an earnest rescript, enforcing obedience, is sent from the Court of the Emperor. John Von Reck publishes a book which occasions uncommon sensation. It is entitled: "The Incompleteness of the restoration of the stipulations of the Baden Treaty, respecting religious matters in the Palatinate." The Elector changed the membership of the commission by substituting other persons. The new commissioners were, however, hampered by the injunction, not to enter into any inquiry respecting the church property and revenues, of which the Reformed had been deprived

since the declaration settling the religious condition of the country, but only to make the changes which had been introduced since the peace of Baden, a subject of investigation. With this limitation, it was, of course, impossible to remove the source of these protracted disputes. John Von Reck endeavoured to allay the animosity between the two evangelical churches of the Palatinate, by conciliatory propositions. The efforts of the Commission on religious affairs, were gradually suspended. The Emperor Charles VI. proposed, June 11, 1727, a compromise respecting the question of property; but this also was without result; the external condition of the Protestants in the Rhenish Palatinate remained much as it had been. The originating cause of the disputes was not touched; but opinions began to be more moderate. The gentle spirit of toleration gained, although gradually, more and more scope.

The Heidelberg Catechism was edited and published in the Palatinate, we might almost say, times without number. In the first year of its existence, 1563, it was issued three times by one publisher, John Mayer, at Heidelberg. In every succeeding year, new editions appeared. Neustadt, Amberg, Manheim, furnished repeated publications of it. The editions were indeed different; the form, the quality, the language, the supplements, and appendices varied. In the oldest editions the common division into Lord's Days is wanting; this is first seen in the Heidelberg edition of 1573. In the first edition, questions and answers succeed one another without being numbered, and the proof-texts are marked in the margin. In some issues, the passages of Scripture are more copiously adduced, and there is a more exact index of the Scripture texts which are cited as proofs. Some are supplied with various remarks in the margin, or under the text. The 80th

question is altered in some editions, and in the first edition, for what reason is not known, it is omitted; but, on the other hand, the preface of the Elector, which we have given, is inserted in the first editions. The common title is: "Catechism, or Christian Instruction as taught in the Churches and Schools of the Palatinate."

In addition to its distinct publication, the Catechism was appended to other books; *e. g.*, to various editions of the Bible, to hymn-books, and church liturgies. Extracts were also published. A short summary, making three or four pages in small print, and consisting of only twenty-two questions, is also found in some issues of the Catechism at Heidelberg, in 1601. The revised Church Liturgy of the Palatinate, Heidelberg, 1585, contains the abbreviated catechism. The preface which is affixed to the smaller catechism, explains its nature and design; this was not to supersede the larger one, but only for the benefit of common and uneducated people and children, for whom some answers of the larger Catechism were too long and difficult to present the most important and necessary articles of Christian faith in a simple and regular form.

Many learned men did good service in editing the Heidelberg Catechism. Almost every year, larger or smaller works on it were published.

BALTHASAR COPIUS is everywhere known. He published 54 sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism, Neustadt, 1588. In the same year, a translation of it appeared at Amsterdam.

QUIRINIUS REUTER published, in Latin, an Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism, with critical remarks of some divines. Heidelberg, 1585.

TOBIAS FABRICIUS wrote: "Explanation of the Catechism of the Palatinate. Neustadt, 1586, 1596."

GEORGE SPINDLER published: "Fifty-two Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism, in which the main points of Christian doctrine, and the substance of the whole Scripture are accurately and briefly discussed. Together with an Examen, etc. Amberg, 1597, 1607."

JOHN PHILIP PAREUS wrote a Latin analysis and exegesis of the Catechism of the Palatinate. Neustadt, 1615.

Well known is GEORGE MIEG's godly Exposition in 57 sermons, 1746. This book has been extensively used in many Reformed churches and families, as a collection of homilies for edification.

"The Doctrine of Truth unto Salvation, of the Evangelical Reformed Church, or compend of instruction for children on the Heidelberg Catechism, for the benefit of all inquiring souls, and especially for the training of the dear youth, explained by the text-language of the Catechism, and confirmed with passages from Holy Scripture, together with grounds of faith, for *confirmands* who are coming to the Lord's Supper, with approbation of the Universities at Herborn and Heidelberg. Heidelberg and Herborn, 1748."

In conclusion, another old volume may be cited, which is regarded by many as a precious treasure: "Short and Simple Statement, 1. Of the great sorrow and misery of the whole human race; 2. How mankind may be delivered from this misery and be saved; 3. Of the office of Christians, how they shall demean themselves in their life, towards God and their neighbour, and be grateful to God for such deliverance, through Jesus Christ. Together with ample explanation of these points. All included in questions and answers, and confirmed with testimonies adduced from the Divine word; by MELCHIOR ANGERUS. Heidelberg, 1593."



## ADOPTION OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM IN THE COUNTRIES BEYOND THE PALATINATE.

THE Heidelberg Catechism produced a sensation, not only in its native home, the Palatinate, but in all European countries. It was translated into *most*\* of the languages of the known world, into dead as well as living languages. In all Reformed Churches it was received with the warmest enthusiasm and the highest regard. It was honoured as no book ever has been, except the Bible. It was elevated to the rank of a symbol, or acknowledged exponent of the faith of the Reformed Church. The foundation of all this was, doubtless, laid in the Palatinate, where it originated. The Preface, which the Elector Frederic III. prefixed to the first edition, and which was also in fact, a command, obliging all pastors and schoolmasters to introduce it, procured its adoption every where in the Palatinate. By virtue of this electoral mandate, the new Catechism was every where introduced, and all preachers who refused to accept it were dismissed from service. It was made a duty to explain it in public sermons, and Zachariah Ursinus was directed to deliver public lectures upon it, in the College at Heidelberg, throughout the whole year, without interruption, in order by this means to aid the future teachers in its explanation. This order, however, had no force in other countries. The nature of the Catechism must, therefore, have effected this respect and general adoption. In no Catechism were the doctrinal views of Zwingli and Calvin so clearly expressed as in it; in

\* Von Alpen says, "*all*."

none of its congeners were the beautiful, the strong, and the practical presented, as they are found in every question and answer in this Catechism; in none were the distinctive doctrines of the Reformed faith more accurately defined. The borders of the Palatinate were too narrow to confine this book exclusively to their own limits. It was relished in all other countries. Although the Swiss Reformed Churches have various other catechisms, the Heidelberg was more highly esteemed in most of them. In St. Gall it was introduced, and when an alteration or amendment of the Catechism of Zurich was attempted, the Heidelberg Catechism was so carefully consulted and used, that a remarkable similarity and agreement have been perceptible from that time. Throughout all Germany all Reformed Churches adopted it as their symbolical book and the exponent of their faith. The public confessions of faith of distinguished persons were prepared and arranged according to its substance. When the building of the Reformed Church was undertaken at Berlin, a quarto Bible in Hebrew print, and the Heidelberg Catechism, both bound in black, and with large gold clasps, were deposited and well secured in the cornerstone, with other costly memorials. In the remote kingdom of Hungary, the Heidelberg Catechism was introduced soon after its appearance, translated into the language of the country, and read and explained to the children in the schools. Preachers and schoolmasters, and even students who were going to the Universities, were bound, in some instances, by an oath, to adhere with cordial fidelity to the doctrines of Scripture contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, and to teach and disseminate the same in churches and schools, in all sincerity and without any defalcation. A law was

enacted, that the Heidelberg Catechism should always be maintained and taught.

In no country, however, was more honour shown to the Heidelberg Catechism than in the United Netherlands. Here it was not only, at a very early period, appointed and used for the instruction of children and the common people, but was also publicly expounded in sermons. Here it subsequently attained the high distinction of a general and formal symbol of the Reformed Church. No one could become preacher, schoolmaster, magistrate, or member in the Reformed Church, without swearing to adhere to the Heidelberg Catechism. In the dreariest periods of the persecutions, Peter Gabriel expounded the Catechism at Amsterdam, and comforted and strengthened the oppressed Christians with its teachings; but the foundation of its adoption was chiefly laid in an assembly at Wesel, 1568, of the Churches of the Netherlands, who had been driven from their native country, and lived, scattered, here and there. At this meeting it was ordered, that in the French Churches of the Netherlands the Genevan Catechism should be used, and the Heidelberg in the German Churches. The full adoption followed at a National Synod of the Netherland, German, and French Churches, native and foreign, at Dordrecht, 1574. As early as the year 1576, the sermons were appointed in a Schedule of certain church laws, by the Prince of Orange, as Stadtholder, and the States of Holland and West Friesland. The influence of the Heidelberg Catechism was still further enhanced in 1586, by the insertion of this rule in the Church order—that ministers of the word, professors of theology, and schoolmasters, shall affix their signatures to the Confession of Faith of the Church of the Netherlands, *i. e.*, the Heidelberg Catechism, and confirm the same with an

oath. The great National Synod at Dordrecht, 1618 and 1619, ordered three formulas to be prepared for this purpose; one for Professors of Theology at academies and gymnasia, also for the regents and sub-regents of theological colleges; another for ministers of the sacred word; and a third for rectors, schoolmasters, and visitors of the sick, which they were required to subscribe. The highest position of honour and regard which can be conferred on a book, was attained by the Heidelberg Catechism at this same Synod. The divines of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, who were invited and present at its sessions, examined the Catechism with all carefulness, approved it in all its doctrines, extolled it with high encomiums, and declared it a symbolical book. Thus the Catechism was, by this Synod, in behalf not only of Holland, but of all Reformed Churches, declared to be the only symbolical book, without whose acceptance, no one could be recognised as a Reformed Christian.

Jerome Van Alphen, one of the most eminent divines who have written on the Heidelberg Catechism, says, with justice, respecting it: "It is regarded as a symbolical book, not only in the Palatinate, but throughout all Germany also, in all Switzerland, and in all the Belgic Churches, any one who departs from it, and teaches anything contrary to it, can no longer be considered a member of this communion." According to the slanders of the Arminians, or Remonstrants, the contra-remonstrants confessed publicly, "that in the Heidelberg Catechism the most complete divine doctrine was contained, to be found in a compend;" that "holy Scripture was a rule and guide of doctrine, in so far as it is explained according to the view presented in the Catechism." "The Catechism was a form of purity in doctrine and agreement with the same, in which nothing



may either be changed, or anything contrary to it be taught." "Holy Scripture must be interpreted according to the direction of the Heidelberg Catechism." "The Catechism is a little Bible, yea, the marrow of the Bible, and written by Divine inspiration." "We must live and die by the Catechism, as the second rule and guide of our faith."

In their contra-remonstrance, addressed to the States of Holland and West Friesland, all the ministers of the United Netherlands declare: "The Palatinate Catechism is NOT to be held in equal honour with the Divine word, nor to be regarded like papal mandates and decrees; but it was written for the sake of peace, and for the unity of the Church against sects." They stated this same thing to the Arminians themselves. Jacob Trigland gives the following testimony concerning this Catechism. "The orthodox regard their Confession, not as a rule of faith, or norm, according to which a man's orthodoxy or heterodoxy shall be judged; for this purpose they hold only the Divine word, which is contained in the writings of the apostles and prophets; but their Confession, together with the Heidelberg Catechism, they do hold as the rule of judging whether any one adheres to the doctrine of the Reformed Church, and whether he can and may be recognised as a teacher in any one of the Belgian churches." Theodore Strack declares: "Not one of us puts the Catechism in equal regard with the word of God. We hold, with Augustine, that those holy Scriptures which are called canonical are alone divine, and that their authors are alone free from all error." Lenfant expresses himself the most briefly and forcibly of all. "Besides, we must ever remember, that although Calvin's Catechism, and the Heidelberg, and all others which contain the same

doctrines, are excellent works, they are, after all, the work of man, and that they are to be held only conditionally, as formulas of faith, or symbolical books, or in so far as they agree with sacred Scripture, which is the only infallible rule, by which every work upon religion must be judged." The great Bullinger wrote to a friend: "I have read the Palatinate Elector Frederic's Catechism with the greatest avidity, and while reading it, I have thanked God, who establishes the work which he begins. The order of the book is clear; the contents are true, and beautiful, and good; all about it is lucid, fruitful, and pious; with great brevity, it comprehends very many and great subjects. It is my opinion, that no better catechism has been published."

Jacob Hottinger calls it a complete system of sound theology, which had been adopted, not only in Germany, but also in Belgium, Hungary, and Switzerland; a wall and breastwork against the attacks of strange opinions.

The Hessian theologians, whose judgment Pareus quotes, in order to illustrate the excellence of the Catechism, gave it as their opinion, "that a catechism could not be furnished which could be more thoroughly or completely adapted to the capacity both of adults and of children." Even Lutherans were constrained to do justice to the Catechism. Ludolph Bentheim, among others, says: "If I except the doctrine of Calvin which is contained in it, I must admit that the Reformed have some reason to be proud of it; as Ursinus, in all his other writings, excels almost all other theologians, in the preparation of the Catechism he has surpassed himself. The method, according to the three divisions, is adapted to the subject; the questions are well con-

ceived, and plainly answered; the texts of sacred Scripture marked as proofs, are select, and the order, according to the Lord's days of the year, is edifying." The opinions of Church Councillor Walch, and of Miller, the great catechist, are equally favourable. Some Hollanders, in their excessive enthusiasm, cannot find language or words enough to set forth the excellence of the Heidelberg Catechism.

The Heidelberg Catechism was translated into all possible languages. There are translations in Latin, Greek, Dutch, Spanish, French, English, Italian, Bohemian, Polish, Hungarian, Hebrew, Arabic, Malay, and Singalese. Henry Alting makes elaborate mention of them in the third volume of the Heidelberg Theological Authors. Frederic Sylberg prepared a Greek translation, which was sent to the Patriarch at Constantinople. By the order, and at the expense of the States General, another Greek translation was prepared for the use of the Greek Christians. The States General in Belgium also procured its translation into the Spanish language, so that it might be used in the West Indies.

The Heidelberg Catechism has been illustrated by countless commentaries, written in German, Latin, and other languages. Men of the greatest learning occupied themselves with it. Some reduced it to verses and rhymes; others explained it in sermons, paraphrases, and summaries; others laid it down as the basis of entire systems and courses of theological lectures. The history and adoption of this Catechism in different countries is so remarkable, that it deserves to be made everywhere a subject of particular investigation.

ADOPTION OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM IN THE  
NETHERLANDS.

IN no country was the Heidelberg Catechism more warmly welcomed, than in the Netherlands. It was read with absorbing interest; and was more extensively circulated and expounded, than in any other land. Here, too, it was exalted to the highest place of respect, by its recognition as a symbolical book. The reasons for this, are to be found partly in the prepossession of the Netherlanders for the Germans. To a German they were indebted for their national existence and deliverance, and how then can we find fault with them for loving that which came to them from Germany? This regard for the Heidelberg Catechism is to be traced, also, to the want of catechisms of their own, and to the earnestness with which they watched over the new doctrine. It will repay us to inquire more closely into these reasons.

The Reformation in the Netherlands is, beyond dispute, the most brilliant and remarkable of all. The fabric of the hierarchy was overturned by a glorious revolution, and the new doctrine was exalted and triumphed, with one grand effort, over the outstretched arm of despotism and the most dreadful devices of papal tyranny. The new doctrine, which Luther disseminated in Germany, and Calvin in Switzerland, soon made its way into Holland, and there found a most favourable soil. The first germs were cast into the Netherlands by the Protestant merchants, who came in large numbers to Amsterdam and Antwerp. The German and Swiss troops, who had been led into these countries, and the vast number of French, German, and



English refugees, who had fled from the sword of persecution in their native country, here sought a city of refuge, and promoted the spread of the Reformation. A considerable portion of the Holland nobility pursued their studies, at that time, in Geneva. The new ideas respecting religion, which were there publicly taught, were brought back by the young students into their fatherland. Here the germ was silently developed; everywhere it found encouragement; it could not be otherwise, in a country in which industry was the most cherished virtue, and beggary, the most disgraceful vice, and where monkery, as an order of idleness, had long been regarded as a nuisance. The new religion, which was zealous against it, had public opinion on its side. Pamphlets, full of bitterness and satire, to which the newly-invented art of printing gave a wide circulation in this country, and numbers of public speakers, who, at that time, itinerated in these provinces, and ridiculed the abuses of the times in theatrical representations, or songs, assisted in destroying all respect for the Romish Church, and paved the way, in the minds of the people, for a favourable reception of the new doctrines. Its first steps were amazingly swift; the number of those who, in a short period, declared themselves for the new religion, was prodigious. This revolution, in matters of faith, necessarily produced great sensation. The Romish Court observed it with alarm, and already instructed by the German Reformation, that it could not be put down by the thunders of excommunication, meditated more potent measures. Enraged with hatred and envy, trembling for their influence and their revenues, and blinded by a bloody superstition, they determined to offer a terrible sacrifice to their cruelty, and applied to the sovereign of the country.

The Netherlands were then in the possession of

Charles V. He was, without doubt, the first and the mightiest in all Europe; Emperor of Germany, Lord of Spain, of the New world, of the Netherlands, King of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. No State ventured to meet him on the battle-field. France, his most dangerous neighbour, exhausted by a severe war, and still more, by internal dissensions, which arose under a childish government, was already, with rapid steps, hastening towards the unhappy epoch which, for nearly half a century, made it the theatre of abomination and misery. The throne of England was tottering amid the storms of violent party strife. The monarchies of the North still lay in barbarous night, or were just beginning to assume shape, and the diplomacy of Europe did not recognise them. The ablest generals, numerous armies, accustomed to victory, a formidable navy, and the rich, golden tribute from the West Indies, were the strong instruments by means of which Charles was enabled to carry out his plans. Provoked by the powerful resistance with which the German princes had compelled him to secure the free exercise of the new religion in Germany, he issued the most cruel edicts against the Reformation in the Netherlands. The reading of the Gospels and Epistles, all public, or private assemblies, with which the name of religion was in any way connected, all conversations on this subject, at home and at the table, were forbidden with the utmost severity, in these edicts. In all provinces of the land, special tribunals were appointed to take cognizance of the fulfilment of the edicts. Whoever cherished erroneous opinions, was deprived of his office, without respect to rank. Whoever should be convicted of spreading heretical doctrines, or of having merely attended the secret conventicles of these reformers of the faith, was condemned to suffer death—all male persons to be

executed with the sword—women to be buried alive. Lapsed heretics were to be delivered to the flames. These terrible judgments could not be removed, even by the repentance of the offender. The property of the condemned was confiscated. The first two Reformers, Henry Voes and John Esche, were burned at Brussels, 1523.

This fury went to still greater excesses. Charles V., emboldened by the success of his arms in Germany, believed that he might now venture any thing, and was earnestly meditating the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in the Netherlands. This Spanish Inquisition was an institution *sui generis*, which in the whole range of things temporal, has no representative, and can be compared to no spiritual or secular tribunal. There was always inquisition, ever since there have been doubters and innovators; but it was only about the middle of the thirteenth century, after some examples of defection had alarmed the hierarchy, that Pope Innocent III. erected for it a judgment-throne of its own, and united in an unnatural manner spiritual supervision with the power to punish. To be all the more sure that no human sympathy and no shrinking of nature should enervate the severity of its statutes, he withdrew it from the bishops and the secular priests, who were too closely related to humanity by the bonds of civil life, that he might entrust it to monks, who had fore-sworn the holy impulses of humanity, and who were monsters of the human name, and willing creatures of the Roman Pontiff. Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France, received them; a Franciscan monk sat in judgment at the terrible sentence passed on the Templars; a few States succeeded in excluding the Inquisition, or in subjecting it to the secular power. Up to the period of Charles V.'s reign, the Netherlands had

been free from this scourge; their bishops exercised spiritual censorship, and, in extraordinary cases, it was the custom to appeal to foreign tribunals of the Inquisition—the French provinces to Paris, and the German to Cologne; but the Inquisition which Charles wished to establish, was the most terrible of all; it came from the west of Europe, and had the following origin and form. The last Moorish throne had fallen in Grenada in the fifteenth century, and the worship of the Saracens had vanished before the overwhelming power of the Papists, but the *gospel* (!) was as yet not established in this youngest of the Christian kingdoms, and in the dark commingling of dissimilar laws and customs, the religions had not become, as yet, distinct. True, the sword of persecution had driven many thousand families into Africa, but a far greater portion, rivetted to their homes by their love of locality, purchased exemption from this terrible fate by the farce of a simulated conversion, and continued to serve their Mahomet and Moses at the altars of Rome. So long as Grenada directed its prayers towards Mecca, it was not subdued, and so long as the new convert in the privacy of his home, was a Jew, or a Mussulman, he was secured no more to the throne than to the See of Rome. Now, it was determined to bring this stubborn people into complete subjection, to dash in pieces the entire old faith and the whole form of the moral character, in order to convert it wholly to the Catholic religion. For this purpose the Inquisition was invented, which, in order to distinguish it from *human* tribunals, is known as the Spanish Inquisition. Cardinal Ximenes was its founder. A Dominican monk, Torquemada, first opened this terrible hall of judgment, instituted its statutes, and earned the eternal curse of mankind for the Order, which he represented. This tool of despotic and hierarchical oppression soon



became the instrument of covetousness. The enormous sums which fell into the royal treasury through the confiscation of property, presented a fearful temptation to Ferdinand, at that time king of Spain. The Inquisition put into his hand the key to all the wealth of his subjects, as it was the organ of his power and the strong chain by which he held the mighty fast. The tribunal stood terribly firm, because it was sustained by the united force of the two most powerful passions. Its origin was fearful, and such too were its form and its purpose. The great aim of this institution was, to reduce reason into subjection to a blind faith, and to destroy freedom of spirit by a dead uniformity. The implements for these objects were terror and infamy. Whoever dissented in the least from the common Romish faith; whoever ventured the least doubt against the established formularies and infallibility of the Pope; whoever entered upon investigations in relation either to religion or religious usages, was a victim of the Inquisition. Its spies and listeners were sent every where; availed themselves of the holiest impulses of nature, even friendship and wedded love, in order to pry into the thoughts of individuals, and spread its snares around every joy of life. Where its spies could not penetrate, it secured its hold upon consciences by means of terror, and diffused a gloomy belief in its omnipresence over all the depths of the soul. Whoever was suspected of heresy, or whoever from motives of calumny, hatred, enmity, treachery, or malice, was accused as a heretic, was pursued by the Inquisition. In the dread hour of midnight, the horrid rumbling of the carriage of the Inquisition was heard, as it rolled to the heretic's door. No one dared approach it. The victim was snatched away from the side of his best beloved, and hidden for ever from the sight of his friends.

Tears and protestations were all powerless to effect his deliverance. No hearing was given, no investigation was instituted, no response or defence was permitted. All appeals to humanity, in the case of a heretic, were laughed to scorn; with the slightest deflection from fidelity to the Church, he had forfeited the rights of human fellowship. The arm of the Inquisition thrust him down into deep subterranean dungeons, until pressed by hunger and inhuman tortures, he accused himself as a transgressor of the violated laws of God and man. Then, with solemn pomp, the transgressor was led forth to die. A blood-red banner waved in the van of the procession, and all the bells tolled along its route. First come priests in the robes of the mass, singing a holy chaunt. The condemned sinner follows, clothed in a yellow garment, upon which dark pictures of devils are painted. Upon his head he wears a paper cap, which tapers at the top into the figure of a man, around whom flames are playing and horrid demons flit. The image of the crucified Saviour reversed from the wretch doomed to eternal damnation, was borne aloft before him; for him redemption avails no more. A gag stops his mouth and forbids him to assuage his anguish by lamentations, to rouse dead pity by his touching story, or to blab the secrets of the holy office. The priests, in festive garb, the magistrates, and the nobility, join the throng; the fathers who have adjudged him, close up the horrible array. Usually these executions were ordered on high festivals, and a certain number of such unfortunates were gathered from the prisons of the Holy Office, in order to render the occasion more imposing by the number of the victims, and then even kings were present at the scene. These sat with uncovered heads on seats lower than the throne of the

Grand Inquisitor, to whom, on such days, the highest rank was conceded.

Such was the terrible and inhuman Spanish Inquisition. It was originally founded to purify the small kingdom of Grenada from the petty remnant of the Saracens and Jews; now it was invoked in order to suppress the revolution in religion, under the leadership of Luther and Calvin. All the Inquisitions in Portugal, in Italy, and Germany, assumed the form of the Spanish. It followed Europeans even into India, and erected a horrid tribunal in Goa, whose inhuman procedures to this day, make men shudder at the recital. The most terrible desolations were inflicted on the countries where it was established, and whole provinces and kingdoms were depopulated; but in no quarter of the world were its excesses equal to its ravages in Spain. It crushed the Spanish character into the dust, arrested this proud and spirited nation midway in its advancing civilization, banished genius from beneath a sky in which it was at home, and left a stillness like that which rests upon the grave, in the spirit of a people who had more incentives to gladness than many other nations.

This Spanish Inquisition, Charles, in all earnest, proposed to set up in the Netherlands. The apprehension of it was of itself sufficient to bring all trade to a sudden dead halt in Antwerp and other large cities of the provinces. The most prominent foreign merchants prepared to leave the country. Nothing was bought or sold. Real estate fell in value, and trades were abandoned. Money was no longer in the hands of the citizens. The ruin of the flourishing commercial cities would have been inevitable, if Charles V., persuaded by the representations of the States, had not abandoned the dangerous experiment. Charles was yet wise

enough to count the cost, and hold in check the insurrection which was on the point of breaking out in wild, ungovernable fury. He relaxed his purpose, recommended leniency towards foreign merchants, and changed the name of the Inquisition for the milder designation of *Spiritual Censors*. Certain priests were associated with the Inquisitor; but he himself was a secular officer.

In the year 1530, with the consent and approval of the States, the edicts against heretics were issued, which were the foundation of all subsequent ones, and in which express mention is made of the Inquisition. In 1550, Charles deemed himself compelled, through the rapid increase of the sects, to renew these edicts with increased severity. Still, the spirit of this Inquisition in the Netherlands was, in accordance with the genius of the country, more humane than in the Spanish kingdoms; and as yet, no foreigner, and still less a Dominican, had been entrusted with its administration. It was, therefore, less offensive, because, however severe its judgments, it appeared less subject to caprice, and did not, like the Spanish Inquisition, shroud itself in secrecy.

During the reign of Charles V., according to Van Meter and Grotius, a hundred thousand persons were put to death by the executioner, on account of religion alone. But Philip, the son of Charles, and his successor, an ambitious, despotic, and bigoted ruler, determined to put in execution what his father, for wise reasons, had declined, and resolved to introduce the genuine Spanish Inquisition into the Netherlands. He began by aggravating the severity of his father's regulations concerning faith, extending the power of the Inquisitors more and more, and rendering their procedures more arbitrary and independent of the civil power.



Soon nothing was wanting to make the Spanish Inquisition complete, except the name and the Dominicans. Mere suspicion was enough to tear a citizen away from the bosom of his family and of public tranquillity; and the weakest evidence was a justification of the torture. Whoever fell into this abyss, never came out. All the benefits of the laws were suspended in his case. The maternal care of justice took no farther notice of him. The delinquent never learned the name of his accuser, and very seldom the nature of his offence. A ruthless devilish cunning compelled the unhappy victim to be his own accuser, or in the torture of the rack, or through weariness of his long, living burial, to confess offences which he had never committed, or were not even known to his judges. The property of the condemned was confiscated, and informers were encouraged by rewards and assurances of favour. No privilege, no civil justice availed against the Holy Power. The arm of worldly authority could not protect those whom the Inquisition touched. This was permitted to exercise no other duty at its tribunal, except with reverential submission to put its sentences into execution.

The effects of this institution could not be otherwise than unnatural and terrible. All the temporal prosperity, even the life of the man of irreproachable character, were henceforth at the mercy of every miscreant. Every secret enemy, every envious wretch, was exposed to the dangerous temptation of securing an invisible and unfailing revenge. There was no longer any safety to property, or sincerity in intercourse. All bonds of trade, all claims of blood and love were dissolved. Social life was poisoned by suspicious mistrust; the dreaded presence of a spy stifled the glance in the eye and the word on the tongue. No one believed in the existence of an honourable man, and no

one had the reputation of one; good name, the bond of common country, brotherhood, even the sanctity of an oath, and all that men hold dear, had depreciated in value. No wonder that a tribunal so unnatural should have roused a free State to resistance! Complaints were laid before Philip concerning the spiritual edicts, the Inquisition, and its unlawful encroachments. Never more, they declared, would Hollanders submit to a yoke, under which it might be that Spaniards would meekly bow, and if the attempt was made to force it on them, they would rather dare the worst. But Philip was inexorable. Rather not be king at all, than reign over heretics, was his answer! Margaret of Parma, a natural daughter of Charles V., by a lady of the Netherlands, Vangeest by name, at that time Stadtholderess of the Netherlands, was under obligation to see to the execution of the religious edicts, and with what zeal she fulfilled it we may learn from the stern monkish faith which her preceptor, and the adviser of her conscience, Ignatius Loyola, had implanted in her soul. Among the labours of love and works of penance with which she crucified her vanity, one of the most remarkable was, that in the passion-week of each year, she, with her own hands, washed the feet of a certain number of poor people, who had been strictly forbidden to cleanse themselves in advance, then waited on them at table, like a servant, and dismissed them with rich presents. This single characteristic may suffice to show with what zeal she would insist on the execution of the edicts.

Philip left the Netherlands in 1559; a storm sank his fleet, and as he stepped safely ashore at Laredo, he expressed his gloomy gratitude in the horrid vow to the God who had preserved him, to exterminate all heretics. Anthony Perenot, Bishop of Arras, subse-

quently Archbishop of Mechlin, and Metropolitan of all the Netherlands, whom the hatred of his cotemporaries immortalized under the name of Cardinal Granvella, was associated with Margaret, in order to exterminate the Protestants. The Inquisition and the edicts seemed to him insufficient to arrest the infection of heresy, so long as the former had not an ample supply of overseers, and the latter had not a sufficient number of instruments to give effect to its widely extended jurisdiction. He therefore proposed to institute thirteen new bishoprics in the realm, in addition to the four hitherto established, one for each of the provinces of the country, and to raise four of them to the rank of archbishoprics. Six of these episcopal sees were under the archbishopric of Mechlin, viz., in Antwerp, Herzogenbusch, Ghent, Bruges, Ypern, and Ruhrmond; five others, Haarlem, Middelburg, Lauvarden, Deventer, and Gröningen, under the archbishopric of Utrecht; and the four remaining ones, Arras, Tournai, St. Omer, and Namur, under the Archiepiscopal See of Cambray. Mechlin, in the midst of Brabant, and of all seventeen provinces, was the primate of all the rest, and, together with several rich abbeys, was the reward of Granvella. The revenues of the new bishoprics were derived from the treasures of the monasteries and abbeys. Some of the abbots themselves attained the rank of bishops; and these, with the possession of their monasteries and prelatures, also retained a vote in the Diet, which was associated with it. To every bishopric nine prebends were attached, which were entrusted to the most skilful jurists and theologians, in order to support the Inquisition and the bishops in their spiritual office. To the Archbishop of Mechlin, as the metropolitan of all the seventeen provinces, full authority was given to appoint or depose archbishops and bishops, according to his

pleasure, and the See of Rome had only the right of approval. Against these encroachments upon the most cherished rights of the country all the Provinces united, and the terrible voice of patriotism shouted the alarm.

In this tumult, Prince William of Orange arose as leader of the people and defender of the noblest human rights against the assumptions of despots. William the First, Prince of Orange, was descended from the princely German house of Nassau, which had flourished for eight hundred years, had contended, during one period, with the house of Austria for the supremacy, and had given an Emperor to the German State. Besides various rich provinces in the Netherlands, which made him a citizen of the State and an obedient vassal of Spain, he possessed the still independent principality of Orange, bequeathed to him in his last will by Renatus of Chalons, son of Count Henry of Nassau, who had married the heiress of the house of Chalons, on a journey as ambassador to France. William was born in 1533, at Dillenburg, in the Duchy of Nassau. His mother was the Countess of Stolberg. His father, the Duke of Nassau, had adopted the Protestant religion, in which his son was educated by his direction; but Charles V., who was early kindly disposed to the boy, took him when very young to his court, and let him grow up in the Romish faith. This monarch, who discerned in the child the future great man, kept him for nine years near his person, honoured him with his own instruction in the affairs of state, and bestowed on him a confidence far beyond what his years would have justified. He was the only one who was permitted to remain in the presence of the Emperor, when audience was given to foreign ambassadors—an evidence that, as a boy, he had already



begun to deserve the honourable surname of "THE SILENT." William was twenty-three years old when Charles abdicated the throne. A man like this prince could not be acceptable to the suspicious and tyrannical Philip. William belonged to the number of those lean, pale men, as Cæsar calls them, who do not sleep at night, and who think too much. The quiet composure of a never varying countenance concealed a restless, fiery soul, which was inaccessible alike to craft or love, a fertile, untiring, and capacious mind, sensitive and soft enough to receive all impressions, strong enough to bear up under every change of fortune. The plan which he had once adopted as the best, no opposition could wear out, no accident destroy; for all these things had stood in his view before they actually occurred. Elevated above terror and joy, he could be moved by fear; but that fear had been present before the danger came; he was composed in the midst of tumult, because in the time of peace he had trembled. No one was ever born to be the leader of a conspiracy more than William the Silent. A penetrating, steadfast look into the past, the present, and the future, readiness to seize the opportunity, keen calculation of the long chain of futurity, were under the guardianship of a free and enlightened virtue, which walks with steady step even on the crumbling verge. The opinion concerning his religion seemed ambiguous. William had faith in the Pope, so long as his benefactor, the Emperor, lived; but the prepossession which his young heart had conceived for the Reformed doctrine, never forsook him. Whatever Church he may have preferred in various periods of his life, he was wholly addicted to none. In subsequent years he went over to Calvinism with as little hesitation as he in early childhood had forsaken the Lutheran religion for the Roman Catholic. He defended the human rights of Protestants against the Spanish tyranny,

rather than their opinions. Their sufferings, not their faith, had made him their brother.\*

An accident developed the mighty thought, in the soul of William, to break in pieces the yoke of Spanish tyranny. William had been retained in France as a hostage of the peace of Chateau-Cambresis, and through the imprudence of Henry II., who supposed that he was speaking with a confidant of the King of Spain, had become possessed of a secret proposal, which the French Court had suggested to the Spanish, against the Protestants of both kingdoms. This important discovery the Prince lost no time in communicating to his friends in Brussels, and the letters which were exchanged on this subject, unfortunately fell into the hands of the King of Spain. Philip was less surprised by this decisive indication of William's opinions, than he was enraged at the frustration of his project; the betrayer of a state secret was lost to the good opinion of the King; but this disaffection and mistrust were still more aggravated offences in his estimation.

Lamoral, Count of Egmont and Prince of Gavre, joined Prince William. He was a descendant of the princes of Gelder, whose warlike spirit the arms of the House of Austria had tamed. The battles at Quentin and Gravelingen made him the hero of his century. The Orange faction obtained an important acquisition in Count Hoorné. He had accompanied the King as admiral of the fleet to Biscay, and had resumed his position in the council of the State. Hoorné's restless spirit responded to the daring projects of the Prince of Orange and of Egmont, and soon the dangerous triumvirate was constituted by these three friends, which shook the foundations of the royal authority, and finally toppled it to the ground. Jealousy, private advantage,

\* This is not a true estimate of William's character, as Motley has abundantly proved.

and religious differences, had separated the nobility for a long period, the common fate of degradation and hatred of the minister had reunited them, and the artifices of the administratrix to divide them and form two parties out of the nobility, were futile.

The dissatisfaction with the new Bishops was loudly expressed in all the provinces. The cry was: "The constitution has been trampled under-foot; the rights of the nation are assailed; the Spanish Inquisition has opened its bloody court!" The nobility saw the royal power in the Assembly of the States strengthened by fourteen influential votes. The former Bishops complained that their revenues had been diminished and their districts curtailed. The abbots and monks had lost both revenues and influence. Nobles and people, laymen and priests, advanced together against the common enemy. Brabant was the loudest in its resistance. A defeat which Philip sustained from the Turks, compelled him to call away the Spanish troops out of the Netherlands, and use them on the Mediterranean Sea. The horrible procedures against heretics exasperated the whole nation. All executions of confessors of the new religion now became just so many tempting exhibitions of their excellence, so many theatres of their triumph and glorious constancy. The heroic fortitude with which they died, won converts to the faith for which they suffered. Ten new confessors lived for every one that was murdered. Not in cities and towns only, but on the public highways, on boats, in carriages, discussions were held about the authority of the Pope, the Saints, Purgatory, and Indulgences. In all these places, sermons were delivered, and people were converted. From the country, and out of the towns, the mob rushed forth to rescue the prisoners of the Holy Office from the hands of the sbirri, and the magistrates

who ventured to uphold their authority by force, were pelted with stones. Crowds accompanied the Protestant preachers, whom the Inquisition sought to get into its power, carried them on their shoulders to and from the church, and concealed them at the peril of life from their pursuers. The spirit of insurrection and riot was everywhere aroused. Prisons were broken open, and the victims were snatched by force from the hands of the authorities. Five thousand men were seen present at one Protestant sermon in Tournay and Valenciennes. In the Northern provinces, where liberty was stronger, and the government was more remote, and where the neighbourhood of Germany and Denmark augmented the sources of the infection, the number was still greater.

This manifestation, the disobedience of the edicts, the necessity of levying new recruits, and the suspicious movements of the Hugonots on the French borders, distressed the Administratrix exceedingly. To all this was added the command from Madrid, to order back two thousand Netherland cavalry, who, in the stress of the religious war, had taken refuge with Philip II. They were to be driven back to the army of the Queen's mother in France, for Philip was wont to regard every matter which was an affair of faith, as his own personal concern. The Administratrix communicates the will of the King to the States' Council, and meets with the most violent opposition on the part of the nobles. Whilst the Regent is wavering between the orders of the King, and the urgent representations of her councillors, William of Orange rises, and proposes to summon an assembly of the States General: No policy more fatal to the royal authority could be adopted, than this national convention, so tempting an exhibition, at the present moment, of its power and rights. The minister was wide awake to the danger which the Prince was



preparing by this stroke. A hint from him admonished the Duchess to adjourn the assembly. He himself wrote to Madrid that nothing could be more disadvantageous to the Government than to give its consent to this assembly of the States; that such a measure was at all times dangerous, because it led the nation to inquire into and restrain the rights of the Crown; but now it was thrice prejudicial, especially as the spirit of insurrection was so widespread, and the entire nobility, through the arts of the Prince of Orange, was increasing the national disaffection. This letter produced its full effect upon the King. The assembly of the States was peremptorily forbidden; the decrees respecting the punishment of heretics were renewed with great severity, and the Duchess was ordered to send the desired auxiliary troops without delay. But to this the council was not to be induced. Instead of subsidies, it agreed to send money to the Queen's mother. In order to deceive the nation with a shadowy representation of republican liberty, the Regent summoned the Stadtholders of the Provinces, and the Knights of the Golden Fleece, to an extraordinary assembly at Brussels, in order to deliberate on the present dangers and necessities of the State. The object of the meeting was explained, and three days' time given for deliberation. Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange assembled them in his palace, and represented the necessity of uniting themselves before the session, and agreeing beforehand on the measures which were to be advocated. Many approved this proposal. Only Count Barlaimont, with a few adherents of the minister, spoke in favour of the prerogatives of the Crown. The Duchess, advised of this occurrence, occupied the Knights so adroitly, that they had no time to arrive at any further understanding. At last it was resolved to send an embassy to

Spain, in order to inform the King of the present posture of affairs; but the Duchess sent another secret envoy to Madrid, in advance, who acquainted the King with all that had been arranged at the caucus between the Prince of Orange and the Knights. The public ambassador was flattered in Madrid with empty protestations of the royal good will; but the Regent was secretly commanded to frustrate the secret union of the nobility by all the means in her power.

The embassy from Madrid returned, and communicated to the State Council the highly favourable views of the sovereign; but the Prince of Orange, who had surrounded the King with spies, received information which was entitled to greater credit. From them he learned that Granvella had slandered him and his friends in the most infamous manner, and had used the most opprobrious epithets in relation to the conduct of the nobility.

There was no help, so long as the minister was not driven from the helm of the government, and this undertaking, bold and adventurous as it seemed, now wholly occupied the Prince. In a common letter, the Prince of Orange, Count Egmont, Count Hoorne, brought accusations against the minister before the King, and insisted strenuously upon his removal. The Duchess received information concerning this letter, and neutralized its effect by another, which she despatched before it. The King answered, that it was not his wont to condemn his minister on the accusation of his enemies, without a hearing. With rare courage, they ventured a second attempt, and wrote to the King, that the general tranquillity was utterly incompatible with the presence of this individual. If it was not the pleasure of his Majesty to remove this person, they hoped that in future they would be

relieved of the duty of attending the Senate. As the sovereign was altogether averse to grant their request, they left the State Council, and even removed from Brussels. By process of law, therefore, they could not remove the minister; they now adopted another plan. On every occasion they manifested their public contempt, and placed every measure which he adopted in a ridiculous light. The voice of the people was loud and still louder against him. Every one hated him. Every execution increased the public horror, and universal execration pursued him. The minister began to totter at the court of the Duchess, and at last he fell. Granvella was now hurled to the ground; but his adherents still maintained their footing, and they, too, must be cast down. Viglius, a worthy and a learned man, a friend of Erasmus, but a weak and timid person, was President of the Privy Council, State Councillor, and Keeper of the Seals, and was now the most important personage, the strongest prop of the Crown and Tiara. The faction had a no less formidable opponent in the President of the Council of the Exchequer, Count Barlaimont. More than once the Prince of Orange endeavoured to detach him from the interest of the Cardinal, and incorporate him with his own party; but Barlaimont remained faithful to the cause of the King.

As every attempt had failed, the effort was made, at all events, to introduce some new members into both Courts, who should be more devoted to the interest of the faction. When the Prince could not succeed, either in winning the Privy Council over to his plans, or in insinuating his own adherents into these courts, there was no other resource left but to render the efficiency of both entirely nugatory, by transplanting the business which belonged to them into the State Coun-

cil. In order to carry out this plan, the Prince sought the assistance of the remaining Councils of the State, alarmed the Duchess by exaggerated reports of the increase of heresy, of the ruinous condition of the citizens, of the administration of justice, and of the finances. Reeling with terror, she assembled all three Courts, in order to deliberate how these disorders might be remedied. The majority of votes decided that an Envoy Extraordinary should be sent to Spain, to inform the King of the state of affairs, and to induce him to adopt better measures. Count Egmont received the commission to make representations to the King, in order to persuade him to adopt a milder procedure towards the Protestants, to merge the two other courts in the State Council, and to effect the revocation of the decrees of Trent, which were about to be introduced; but the Duchess admonished him to inform the monarch respecting the opposition of the people of the Netherlands to the edicts, and the wretched state of the military affairs and finances of the State.

President Viglius drew up the Count's commission. It contained earnest complaints concerning the decay of the administration of justice, the growth of heresy, and the exhaustion of the treasury. He urged strenuously a personal visitation on the part of the King. The rest was left to the eloquence of the Ambassador. The Prince of Orange objected, that the Count's instructions were too general and indefinite, and spoke so strongly, that Viglius succumbed to the violence of his vexation. He was found, the next morning, paralyzed, and in danger of death. His position was assumed by Joachim Hopper, a man of the old style, and of irreproachable morals. He added some appendices to the commission of the Ambassador, which were favourable to the party



of the Prince of Orange, touching the suppression of the Inquisition, and the blending of the three Courts.

When Count Egmont hereupon took leave of the President, who had meanwhile recovered from his illness, the latter requested him to bring back with him his dismissal from his office as minister. The Count set out on his journey to Spain in January, 1565, and was welcomed with an amount of kindness and respect which had never before been experienced by one in his position. The Sovereign granted his requests, and made him a present of fifty thousand gulden. The simulated gentleness of the King, and the protestations of good will which he did not feel, baffled the Count's eloquence. Scarcely had he returned, when severer edicts against heretics exposed the falsehood of the joyful intelligence which he had brought with him, touching the happy change in the mind of the King. The Count, said William, has been cheated by Spanish duplicity.

The treachery of the Spanish ministry was now laid bare. The King commanded that the edicts against heretics should be most strictly enforced, that the Inquisition should receive the most powerful support from the secular arm, and that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be irrevocably and unconditionally binding in all provinces of the Netherlands. Whoever among the stadtholders and judges should be negligent in this matter was to be deposed from his office. He would approve all that the Inquisition might do, let it go as far as it would. This royal mandate, to which the party of the Prince of Orange ascribed all the subsequent sufferings of the Netherlands, produced the most violent sensation, and struck terror into the people. Already the prison-doors were heard grating on their hinges, chains and fetters

were clanking, and the stakes and fagots were made ready. These things were the common topic of conversation. Notices were posted on the doors of the nobility, in which they were summoned, as Rome formerly invoked her Brutus, to come to the rescue of struggling liberty. Biting sarcasms appeared in relation to the new bishops. The clergy were ridiculed in comedies, and the satire spared the throne as little as the chair of the Pope. Alarmed by the rumours of these things, the Duchess summoned all the State Councils to decide the course of conduct she was to pursue in this critical posture of affairs. The venerable Viglius advised, by no means, to give publicity to the King's decree, until the sovereign had been apprised of the reception which, under present circumstances, it would probably encounter. To the astonishment of all parties, the Prince of Orange rose and said: "What have the many representations which we have made to the monarch—the many letters which we have written to him—what has the embassy accomplished, which we so recently sent to him? Come on, then, let us carry out his project." The party of the Prince of Orange prevailed, and the King's decree was openly promulged. This session destroyed for ever the peace of the Duchess; from this date, the Netherlanders reckon all the storms which, without cessation, raged in their country. An edict was accordingly issued to all stadtholders of the provinces, in which they were commanded to put in force the mandates of the Emperor and of the King against heretics, together with the decrees of the Council of Trent. For this purpose, every one was directed to choose a suitable man from the council over which he presided, whose business it should be to travel through the provinces and institute strict inquiries concerning the execution of these com-

mands. These mandates, which were publicly read in every city by a herald, produced the effect upon the people which completely justified the fears of President Viglius and the expectations of the Prince. Nearly all the stadtholders refused obedience, and threatened to resign, if the matter was pressed; to deliver from fifty to sixty thousand people to the flames was no commission for them. A general spirit of insurrection pervaded the people. They even demanded that the Council of State should lodge a complaint against the King of Spain before the Supreme Court of Spain, because he had violated his oath and invaded the privileges and rights of the land. The Calvinists published their Confession of Faith, and in a preface, declared to the King that, although they were one hundred thousand strong, they still kept the peace, and paid all the taxes of the country, the same as others; from which it was manifest, they added, that they had no design to revolt. Dangerous tracts were publicly disseminated, without charge, which painted the Spanish tyranny in the most odious colours, and reminded the nation of its privileges and its strength. The warlike preparations of Philip against the Porte, and those which Erich, Duke of Brunswick, was making in the vicinity, strengthened the general suspicion that the Inquisition was to be imposed on the Netherlands by force. Many of the principal merchants were desirous to sell their houses and effects; others looked around for a leader, and threw out hints of a forcible resistance and foreign aid. The Prince of Orange resigned his place in the Council of State, and wrote to the Duchess, that it would be impossible to follow out the commands of the King without kindling a civil war. He retired to his City of Breda, where he quietly awaited the development of the crisis.

Up to this period, the general tranquillity had been the honest desire of the Prince of Orange, Counts Egmont and Hoorne, and their friends. Nothing had happened as yet, which was inconsistent with the duty which they owed to their sovereign. They had demeaned themselves as men of uprightness and honour in their various positions as responsible members of a free State, as national representatives and advocates, as advisers of the King. The weapons with which they had contended against the assumptions of the court, were remonstrances, modest complaints, and petitions. They had never allowed themselves to be hurried so far by a righteous zeal for their good cause, as to forget the bounds of that wisdom and moderation which are usually so readily transcended by party spirit. Not all the nobles of the kingdom, however, listened to these dictates of prudence and forbearance. That class of the nobility whose services and necessities, Philip, on his entrance upon the government, deemed it not necessary to notice, and who were now oppressed with debt, from which they had no hope of extricating themselves by their own unaided efforts, was an unmerciful judge and censor of the royal acts, nourished the popular disaffection, and coveted the wealth of the Protestant merchants, who deemed the purchase of liberty not too dear at any price. Louis of Nassau, and Henry of Brederoden, placed themselves at the head of the enterprise. Louis of Nassau, the brother of the Prince of Orange, united in his person all the qualities which were calculated to make him conspicuous in such a position. In Geneva, where he had studied, he had imbibed a hatred against the hierarchy, and a love for the new religion, and lost no opportunity to win adherents to these principles in his native country. Popery and Spanish rule were the greatest abominations to



him. The warm blood of his fiery temperament and youth would not allow him to tread the devious paths by which his brother moved towards the goal.

Henry of Brederoden, Lord of Viane, and Count of Utrecht, was descended from the old Dutch counts, who had formerly ruled this province as sovereign princes. He, too, quietly favoured the evangelical Confession. Besides these two, the following, who were among the most prominent nobility of the Netherlands, the young Count Charles of Mansfield, whose father had been a zealous royalist; Count Culemburg, the two Counts Bergen and Battenburg; John of Marnix, Lord of Toulouse; Philip of Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde; and many others, joined the League, which was formed about the middle of November, 1565, in the house of a certain Von Hammes, King-at-Arms of the Golden Fleece, and a most earnest Calvinist. Six men here decided the fate of their country, as the sworn compatriots once secured the freedom of Switzerland, kindled the torch of a forty years' war, and laid the foundation of liberty. The brotherhood swore to resist the Inquisition with all their might, to regard the Government as sacred, and by no means to violate their oath under any name, be it called rebellion, insurrection, or whatever else it might. This compromise was translated into several languages, and rapidly distributed through the provinces. Every one of the conspirators gathered all he could together of friends, relatives, dependents, and servants, in order to give to the League the prestige of numbers. Great feasts were held, which lasted for whole days. Every guest was added to the League by prior assurances of friendship. The trick was employed of counterfeiting the seals and signatures of the Prince of Orange, of Counts Egmont, Hoorne, Von Megen, and others, and this gained many hundreds for the

League. Special attention was paid also to the officers of the army, in order to be prepared on this side, in case of emergencies in which violence might be offered. People of all classes and ranks subscribed to the League. Religion made no difference. Even Catholic priests joined it. The Catholics were concerned only for the suppression of the Inquisition, and for the modification of the edicts; the Protestants aimed at unrestricted freedom of conscience. Count Megen gave the Princess the first information concerning this conspiracy. Count Egmont handed her a copy of the compromise. The Prince of Orleans wrote to her, that an army was being enlisted, four hundred officers had been appointed, and twenty thousand men would soon appear under arms. The Administratrix, stunned by the terrors of this announcement, endeavoured to rally the scattered Council of State, and in an urgent letter, invited the Prince of Orleans and Count Hoorne to resume the places in the Senate, which they had resigned, ordered the forts to be strengthened and repaired, sent couriers to Spain, and circulated the report, that the King was on his way. After four months, the whole Council of State assembled in March, at Brussels. The Prince of Orange expressed, during its session, bitter truths and complaints against the Court; several followed his example, and the Duchess had trouble to quiet the tumult. She begged simply a decision of the question, whether the members of the League should be permitted to hand in a petition to the Court, or not? Some were against it; but the Prince of Orange voted emphatically for it. "The members of the League," said he, "are known to me as upright and honourable men; a large number of them stand in relations of friendship and kindred with me. To present a petition, is the privilege of every subject; a right which the meanest man in all the State

may enjoy, cannot be denied to so influential a society, without injustice." A majority of votes was now of this opinion; it was resolved to give this permission to the League. Before the decision was made, respecting the answer to be given in relation to the petition of the League, all Brussels rang with the rumour, that the conspirators were approaching the city. The Duchess, greatly excited, proposed the question, whether the gates should be closed against them, or whether they should save themselves by flight? Both propositions were rejected as not worthy to be entertained. The members of the League assembled in the Culemburg House and renewed their oath. On the following day, April 5th, 1566, the fraternity marched in procession to the palace, four abreast, to the number of four hundred, headed by the Count of Nassau and Brederode; all Brussels followed the unusual spectacle with silent amazement. The Administratrix Margaretta received the procession, surrounded by all her councillors and the Knights of the Golden Fleece, and promised to return an answer to the petition of the fraternity on the following day. The petition contained assurances of fidelity to the King, and a request to despatch a well disposed and properly instructed person to Madrid, who might persuade the King, in accordance with the unanimous wish of the nation, to abolish the Inquisition, to revoke the edicts, and instead of them, to enact, at a general council of the States, new and more humane statutes. Meanwhile, however, until the King should make known his pleasure, it was desired that the edicts might be suspended, and the Inquisition be put out of active operation. The next day, the conspirators appeared in the same procession, but in still greater numbers, before the Regent, in order to receive her decision. It was written on the margin of the

petition, and was to the effect: "It did not lie in her power to suspend the operation of the Inquisition and the edicts; but yet, she was willing, in accordance with the wish of the League, to send one of the nobility to Spain, and to support their request, with all her influence, before the King. Meanwhile, the Inquisitors should be admonished to exercise their office with moderation; but, on the other hand, the League must undertake nothing against the Catholic faith."

The League was content with this answer. Three days afterwards, they declared, in a new memorial to the Regent, most emphatically, "that they had done nothing but their duty, and that nothing but loyalty to the King had been their motive." This declaration the Duchess evaded. On the same day Brederode entertained the conspirators in the Culemburg palace; nearly three hundred guests were present; wine made them reckless, and their courage increased with their numbers. Just then some of them remembered that Count Barlaimont had whispered to the Duchess, who turned pale when the petition was handed in, "that she should not be frightened by a crowd of beggars," (*gueux*.) This expression was caught up, as one which concealed the audacity of the affair under the guise of humility, and the success of which was the most biting satire upon the wealthiest of all kings. Forthwith they drank to one another, under this name, and with an uproar of applause the toast was given—"Long life to the Beggars!" After the table was cleared, Brederode appeared with a bag, such as the wandering pilgrims and beggars of that day carried, hung it about his neck, drank the health of the whole company in a wooden cup, and pledged himself to venture *good and blood*, i. e., property and life, for the League. All repeated the words with a loud voice;



the cup went round, and each one uttered the same vow. The noise which this farce created drew the Prince of Orange, Counts Egmont and Hoorne, who were riding by, into the house, and Brederode, as their host, insisted that they should drink a glass with them. The arrival of these three influential men renewed the rejoicing of the guests. The name of "The Beggars" was made the designation of the fraternity, and the insignia of the brotherhood were borrowed from it. In a few days the city of Brussels swarmed with garments of ash-grey. Around the neck a gold or silver coin was suspended, afterwards called the Beggar's penny, one side of which presented the bust of the King, with the inscription, "True to the King." On the other side were two clasped hands, holding a provision-wallet, with the words, "Even to the beggar's sack."

The brotherhood dispersed, and awaited the decision of the King. The Duchess provided a new formula of the edicts, and sent it for ratification to Madrid. The report was spread that no one need now apprehend anything on account of religious opinions. Immediately after this intelligence, the Protestants who had fled, came back to their homes. The new religion received a vast accession. The name of "The Beggars" was held in high honour throughout the provinces. The Protestants now ventured to hold public assemblies. Fifteen thousand persons crowded to one sermon, in which the Pope, the fathers of the Council of Trent, and Purgatory, were ridiculed in comical style; a general clapping of hands, as in a theatre, rewarded the speaker. At the conclusion of the service, they conducted their preacher home in triumph with an escort of armed horsemen. The Duchess now invoked the League to make good its promises, and to lend a helping hand for the restoration of order. Count

Brederode availed himself of this pretext to summon a general assembly of the whole League. Two thousand came together in St. Truyn, Brederode and Louis of Nassau at their head, and endeavoured to extort from the Duchess a brief, insuring the safety of their persons, inasmuch as the long delay of the royal answer from Madrid augured nothing good for them.

The Catholic members of the League now heard, to their no small amazement, a proposition for general freedom of conscience, and, to their terror, became aware in what a perilous adventure they had entangled themselves. Young Count Mansfield immediately withdrew, and an internal division began to undermine the work, which had been accomplished in haste. Count Egmont and the Prince of Orange were empowered by the Duchess to treat with the League. The League returned a formal answer, and declared that it had done all that it had promised. The Duchess found herself obliged, as the answer from Madrid had not yet arrived, to make the humiliating proposition to the members of the League at St. Truyn, that they should wait twenty-four days longer for the decision of the King, before they took any further steps.

At last the ambassador returned from Madrid. The King declared the General Diet to be inexpedient, and rejected it altogether, and, in a private missive, commanded the Duchess secretly and quietly to prepare for war; to collect three thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry in Germany, for which purpose he transmitted the sum of three hundred thousand gold gulden. The moderation he rejected as too mild—but yet he sacrificed the Papal Inquisition and retained only the Episcopal. This wise concession came too late. When the royal letters reached Brussels, the iconoclasts were in

the height of their fury. Churches and convents were ruthlessly devastated, the most costly works of art were destroyed, and precious libraries and manuscripts perished in the flames. The Duchess, alarmed for her personal safety, was on the point of fleeing to Mons in Hunegan. The venerable Viglius persuaded her to remain. A Council of State was held, whose final decision was to yield to necessity, to allow preaching in those places in which it had been already instituted, to make the suppression of the Papal Inquisition public, to abrogate the edicts against heretics, and, above all, to accord to the nobility of the League, without any reservation, the safe-conduct which they demanded. The Prince of Orange, with Counts Egmont and Hoorne, negotiated with the deputies of the League. Assurances and counter-assurances were prepared and signed in formal instruments of writing. The Protestants restore the plundered churches to their legal owners, and a place is assigned to them in the city, where they are at liberty to build churches for their own use. Each religious society was allowed to have two ministers, but these must be native Netherlanders. As to the rest, they were to enjoy the same protection as the established religion. This arrangement was to be binding until the King, by assembly of the States, should otherwise order; but then every one should be at liberty to leave the country with his family and effects. This agreement the Prince of Orange made with the Provinces, without having the full authority. Other stadtholders, Noirkarnes, Megen, and Aremberg, acted with more severity; they suppressed the Protestant sect, and banished all its preachers.

Philip soon received tidings of the outrages of the iconoclasts, and committed the matter to his Council for their consideration. After much deliberation, the

proposition of the Duke of Alva prevailed, viz., to bring the rebellious subjects to obedience, by means of a well disciplined and formidable army. In advance, the Duchess was advised by letter to strengthen the army, to perplex the Council of State, and detain it with an announcement of his speedy arrival. Whilst these deliberations were held in Spain, the Protestants made the largest use of the privileges which they had extorted. The building of churches advanced with incredible celerity. Young and old, nobles and common folk helped carry the stones, and many women parted with their ornaments in order to expedite the work. They instituted their own Consistories, their own Church Council, and collected money in a common treasury; but the picture outrages, far from promoting the cause of the League, or advancing the interests of Protestantism, had inflicted irreparable injury on both. The sight of their ruined churches, which looked more like stables than places of worship, enraged the Catholics. All Catholics forthwith forsook the League. The severity with which some of its members had proceeded against the iconoclasts, in order to ingratiate themselves with the Duchess, impaired its popularity. The Duchess availed herself of this misfortune, in order utterly to destroy the League. The great part of the confederates went over to the party of the Duchess, who employed the private letters which the King had transmitted through her to some of the nobles, for this purpose. Among those who received such private missives, which were overflowing with expressions of good will, were Egmont and the Prince of Orange. Egmont allowed himself to be entirely won over by this means to the interest of the King; but the Prince was a match for the cunning of the Spanish King.

The court of this most mysterious of all despots had



become accessible to William's tact and money; in this way he had secured, in her own hand-writing, many letters which the Duchess had secretly written to Madrid, and had had them circulated in Brussels, under her own eyes, as though in triumph. William's vigilance penetrated even into the French cabinet. An intercepted letter of the Spanish Ambassador in France, Francis of Alara, to the Duchess, gave him the most important information. In this letter the ambassador expatiated on the splendid opportunity which had been given to the King, by the disloyal conduct of the people of the Netherlands, to establish an arbitrary government in their country. Therefore, he advised her to deceive the nobles by the very arts which they had employed up to this time against her, and to secure them by smooth words and an obliging demeanour. The King, who knew the nobles well, as the secret springs of all the troubles up to this period, would know full well where to find them at the right time; he had sworn to make an example of them, at which all Christendom should stand aghast, even if he imperilled all his hereditary States in the venture. Orange understood, therefore, perfectly, what to make of the fine promises of the King.

This letter of Alara, together with some others which gave detailed notice of the near approach of the King with an armed force, and of his evil designs against the nobility, the Prince communicated to his brother, Louis of Nassau, to Counts Egmont, Hoorne, and Hochstraten. Count Louis proposed, without loss of time, to take up arms, secure certain fortresses, dispute the armed passage of the King into the provinces, arouse Switzerland, the Protestant princes in Germany, and the Hugonots, and meet him on the borders of the country with an imposing army. But William, more wary and wise,

declared against the proposal; it was enough to keep a watchful eye, and give the people a hint of the threatening peril. Egmont did not believe Alara's letter, trusted the flatteries of the King, and the Prince's plan was frustrated.

Meanwhile, the Regent called in the troops from Germany, which Erich, Duke of Brunswick, held in readiness for her. Every stadtholder was obliged to strengthen his military force, and to equip it with all the munitions of war. Hereupon she changed her demeanour, and spoke to the rebels a very different language. The freedom accorded to the Protestants was interpreted in an arbitrary way; their religious usages and worship were declared to be prohibited; their mode of baptism, of marriage, of burial, was forbidden, under pain of death; several Protestant ministers were hung. At a general Synod of the Protestants, it was resolved to send deputies to the Regent to remind her of her promises. All efforts were vain. She gained possession of every city in which there were Protestants, threw a strong garrison into each of these towns, and struck down all resistance. She had an oath drawn up, by which people were pledged to promote the Roman Catholic faith, to persecute the destroyers of pictures, and to aid in the extirpation of heresies of all sorts. Nearly all took this oath; but in vain was the attempt made to induce the Prince of Orange to follow their example. He was resolved to renounce the service of the King of Spain, and to leave the country until better days. A depressing experience had taught him how unsafe the hopes are which are founded, by exigencies, upon the masses, and how soon the zeal which promises so much, is dissipated when actions are demanded of it.

One army stood ready in the field, and a still larger

one approached, under the command of the Duke of Alva. The time of dissembling was past. Only at the head of an army could there be any hope to make advantageous treaties with the Regent. The money requisite for such an army was wanting, for the Protestants had taken back their boastful promises. Envy and religious animosity separated the Lutherans and the Reformed, and members were daily alienated from the League by the arts of the Duchess. All these things induced the Prince to postpone his project, to which the times were not propitious, to a more auspicious hour. The Regent sent her private Secretary, Berti, to him once more, to induce him to take the oath, and when Berti found he could not prevail on him, he hoped to secure, through Egmont's eloquence, what he despaired of effecting by his own. He proposed an interview with Egmont, to which the Prince was the more readily persuaded, as he was himself desirous to embrace his friend once more before his departure, and snatch the blinded nobleman, if possible, from the sure ruin which he saw impending. This remarkable interview, the last which the two friends ever held, took place in Villebrök, a town on the Rupel, between Brussels and Antwerp. Young Count Mansfeld was also present with the Secretary Berti at this interview. The Reformed, whose last hope rested on the result of this effort, had found means to learn the substance of the conversation through a spy, who was concealed in the chimney of the room in which it was held.\* All three assailed the resolution of the Prince with united eloquence, but without making him waver. "It will cost you your property, Orange, if you persist in your determination," said the Prince of Gavre, drawing him aside to a window. "And you, your life, Egmont," replied the Prince, "if you do not alter

\* Motley rejects this statement.

yours." Again the Prince warned his friend, and when it was all to no purpose, filled with sorrow and disgust, he exclaimed: "Well, be it so; venture it on the gratitude of the King. But a sad presentiment tells me, Egmont, that you will be the bridge over which the Spaniards will pass into the country, and which they will break down after they have crossed!" After saying this, he drew him affectionately towards him, and embraced him with deep emotion. For a long time he kept his eyes fastened upon Egmont, as though he felt that he was looking at him for the last time. Tears trickled down his cheeks. They never met again.

On the very next day the Prince of Orange wrote a letter of respectful farewell to the Duchess, and went with his three brothers and his whole family to his city of Breda, where he had some private affairs to arrange. His oldest son, Prince Philip William, alone remained at L<sup>o</sup>wen, because he regarded him as sufficiently protected by the Constitution of Brabant and the immunities of the Academy. In Breda the Reformed appeared to him once more with the inquiry, whether there was any hope left for them, or whether all was lost, without possibility of deliverance? The Prince advised them to unite with the Lutherans, and to furnish him with six hundred thousand gulden. He immediately left the Netherlands, and repaired quietly to his birthplace, Dillenburg, in Nassau. Many hundreds accompanied him to Germany. Counts Hoogstraten, Culemburg, and Bergen soon followed him. The nation felt that their guardian angel was gone. The last prop of the Protestants sank with him; and yet they depended more upon this man who had left them, than upon all the rest who had remained.

The withdrawal of Egmont and the flight of the Prince of Orange, dissolved the *Beggars' League*.



Each one vied with his neighbour in forswearing the old compromise, and taking the new oath which was offered. In vain did the Protestant merchants exclaim against this breach of promise on the part of the nobility; their feeble voice was not heard, and all the money they had expended on the enterprise of the League was lost. Everything yielded to the fortune of the Duchess. Her victorious armies subdued all the cities. Alva's dreaded approach wrought wonders. A solemn agreement was made at Antwerp, by which the Reformed worship was abolished, all preachers were banished, the Romish religion was reinstated in its former dignity, the pillaged churches were restored in all their beauty, the new oath was taken, and persons implicated in the picture riots were handed over to justice. Forthwith all Protestant preachers were commanded, by the announcement of a herald, to quit the country within twenty-four hours; three days were allowed to such as belonged to the Consistories. All the streets were crowded with fugitives. Husbands bade farewell to their wives—fathers took leave of their children for ever. On the 10th of April, 1567, the preachers withdrew; tears flowed, a wail of sorrow arose, and the parting scene was touching.

At the close of April the Protestant preachers had left, all the schools of the heretics, all their churches, were levelled to the ground. Out of the rafters of the demolished churches gallows were erected; all the high courts of law were filled with corpses, all the prisons with doomed victims, all the highways with fugitives. No city was so small but, during this year of slaughter, between fifty and three hundred were led forth through its streets to execution, to say nothing of those who fell into the hands of the bailiffs in the open country, and were strung up like robbers, without

mercy and without hearing. In Amsterdam, the number of the fugitives was so great, that vessels could not be furnished in sufficient numbers to transport them over the North and South Zee. Germany and England were crowded with refugees from the Netherlands, and who retained, wherever they settled, their manners and customs, and even their costume, because it was too hard for them to be altogether alienated from their country, and to give up all hope of return. Few brought with them even the fragments of their former wealth; by far the greater part begged their way, and enriched their new abode with nothing but their industry and skilful hands.

And yet, all this was but the beginning of sorrows. Notwithstanding the assurance of the Regent, that tranquillity was perfectly restored, the minister Granvella, the Cardinal Grand Inquisitor, Spinosa, and the Duke of Alva, insisted that the Spanish army should enter the Netherlands. With the remnant of the victorious legions, at whose head Charles V. had made Europe tremble, the Duke of Alva, a blood-thirsty fanatic, set sail from Carthagená, May 5, 1567, and within eight days landed at Genoa, and thence pushed forward in three columns over Mount Cenis, by the same road over which Hannibal is said to have passed eighteen hundred years before. The army crossed the Piedmontese Alps, in easy day's marches. As it clambered over the steep and slippery rocks, up and down the mountains, crossed the foaming Iser, or in single file threaded the narrow ravines, a handful of men would have sufficed to delay its march, to drive it back on the mountains, and without any trouble to have secured its overthrow. The Prince of Condé and Admiral Coligny, in fact, besought Charles IX. not to lose so favourable an opportunity to inflict a deadly

wound on the hereditary foe of France; they promised to support him with fifty thousand Hugonots, Swiss and Germans. But this offer, whose dangerous purpose was not to be misconstrued, was declined. The advance moved on without resistance, and under the strictest discipline. A terrible star of prosperity guided this army on its way to slaughter, along the borders of Dauphiny and the course of the Rhone, through Lorraine, Franche Comté in Luxemburg, where newly levied squadrons of Burgundian cavalry, and three German regiments of infantry, joined the main army. From Thionville, where the Duke halted a few days, he sent greetings to the Duchess. Crowds of Flemish nobles appeared in the Spanish camp to congratulate the Duke on his arrival. As Count Egmont approached among them, Alva pointed him out to the by-standers with the words, "Here comes a great heretic." Egmont heard the remark and changed colour. When the Duke, in order to gloss over his imprudence, approached him with a cheerful countenance and greeted him with a friendly embrace, the Fleming laughed at this ominous hint. The near approach of this army had already deprived the provinces of a hundred thousand citizens, but now still greater terror and anxiety preceded his advance. Whoever could tear himself away from family, property, and fatherland, betook himself to flight. The 22d of August was the day on which Alva stood before the gates of Brussels. His army was immediately quartered in the suburbs; in person he handed over his instructions to the Duchess, in which he was empowered to conduct the war according to his own pleasure, to erect fortresses, to nominate or depose the stadtholders, commanders, and all officials, to inquire into the disturbances, to punish the ring-leaders, and to reward the loyal. The Spanish tyranny

planted its standard upon the Culemburg palace, where the Beggar's League had been formed. The stillness of death reigned in Brussels, broken at times only by the sound of arms. Like bloodhounds, the followers of the Duke scattered in all directions. Alva hastened to the execution of his plans. By means of a simulated friendliness, he lulled the first emotions of terror, and cradled the nobles and people into their former sleep of security. Counts Egmont and Hoorne, and some others of the nobles, soon began to go back to their former life of pleasure. The Culemburg house was constantly besieged by vast numbers. Meanwhile the Duke was employing this security for the accomplishment of his purposes. He assembled all the Councils of State and Knights, as though he wished to consult them respecting the affairs of the State.

At the close of the deliberation, Count Egmont was preparing to return to the chambers of the Duke's son, Don Ferdinand, in order to resume a game which he had begun, when the Commander of the Body-guard stepped up to him, and, in the name of the King, demanded his sword. At the same time, he found himself surrounded by a crowd of Spanish soldiers. This demand, so sudden and unexpected, affected him so deeply, that for a few moments he lost the power of speech and self-control; but he soon rallied, and calmly taking the sword from his side, handed it to the Spaniard, with the words, "This steel has more than once done good service to the King." At the same time another Spanish officer arrested Count Hoorne, whose first inquiry was concerning Egmont. Upon being told that his friend had just been served in the same way, he surrendered without resistance. "I allowed myself to be led by him," he exclaimed, "and it is just that I share his fate!"



This occurrence terrified all the inhabitants; they bewailed the blindness of Egmont and Hoorne, and rejoiced that the Prince of Orange had escaped the snare. It is said, that the first question of Cardinal Granvella, when this news was brought to him at Rome, was, "Have you the SILENT ONE also?" and when told that they had not, he shook his head, and replied, "Then you have gained nothing, if you have let the Silent One escape!" The rumour of this event met Count Hoogstraten on the road to Brussels; he turned back in all haste, and escaped the snare. At the news of Egmont's arrest, twenty thousand citizens took up the pilgrim's staff. No one regarded himself as safe, after an attack had been made upon the life of one so guiltless as Egmont. The Duke threw obstacles in the way of escape; he blocked the harbours, and forbade emigration, under pain of death. Forthwith, the Inquisition was introduced in all its pomp; the decrees of the Council of Trent were enforced; the law of toleration was abolished, and the decrees against heretics were reinstated with all their former severity. The Spanish Inquisition had declared the entire nation of the Netherlands guilty in the highest degree, *laesae majestatis*, Catholics and heretics, loyalists and rebels alike; the one because they had transgressed in deed, the other because they had acquiesced; and this judgment the King had confirmed by a public manifesto. Thus the property and lives of all were in the hands of Alva.

That he might be the better prepared for his bloody work, he instituted a criminal court, composed of twelve Justices, who should inquire concerning the former disturbances, and pass judgment according to the letter of their instructions. From the Council of Twelve, which was called, also, from the

object to which it was directed, the Council of the Insurrection, and the Bloody Council, on account of its cruelty, a name given to it by the exasperated nation, and by which it is most commonly known, there was no appeal; no revision of its processes was allowed. All whom this Council saw fit to summon were obliged to appear. Whoever did not appear, as scarcely any one did, was outlawed, and his property was confiscated; but if any one answered the summons, or was in any way arrested, he was lost beyond recovery. Twenty, forty, and fifty were frequently demanded at once out of one city, and the wealthiest were the most exposed to this fate. Many respectable merchants, who possessed property to the amount of sixty or a hundred thousand guldi, could be seen, their hands bound upon their backs, dragged at a horse's tail to the place of slaughter, and the heads of fifty were often struck off, one after another, at a single execution. All the prisons, of which the Duke, immediately upon his arrival, had ordered a large number to be built, were crammed full of delinquents. Hanging, beheading, quartering, burning, were the ordinary modes of execution. Immense sums fell into the treasury, but these rather whetted than satiated the avarice of the Duke and his assistants. His insane determination seemed to be to make the Netherlands a nation of beggars. These confiscations are said to have brought a revenue to the King of twenty million ducats.

William of Orange had foreseen all these deplorable occurrences which devastated the beautiful and flourishing Netherlands, and changed them into a gloomy wilderness, void of human life, over which a destroying angel hovered with his dark wings. Not merely for his own safety had he escaped. He was still, though at a distance, the deliverer of his countrymen. His

determination to put an end to this tyranny was firm and unshaken. No means were left untried to accomplish the great work of liberation. The first path which he attempted was that of conciliation and peace. He induced the Emperor, the German Princes, the King of France, the Queen of England, all the great and mighty, to besiege King Philip with entreaties to grant reconciliation, peace, and the mitigation of this despotism. But the answer was, "The King would listen to such proposals only when the Prince was given up into the hands of the Duke of Alva." The Prince then resolved to kill Alva. This attempt upon the person of the tyrant was committed to a Baron Rysoir. His brother Carlo, of the house of Root, disguised himself in a monk's hood, and went into the monastery of Groenedal, near Brussels, whither the Duke went on fast days to perform his devotions. Seven hundred cavalry were stationed in the neighbourhood of the monastery, and five hundred infantry were quartered in and around Brussels; but the attempt failed, a soldier detected him and informed the Duke. There was now no other recourse left, but to overcome him in a regular war. The Prince collected an army, and determined to attack the tyrant on three sides at once. Count Montigni was directed to assemble his corps in Jülich, and thence to fall upon Alva, through Roermond. Baron Coqueville, of Normandy, gathered an army of French and Dutch on the borders of Artois, and Louis, Count of Nassau, was to invade Friesland. The troops in Jülich rendezvoused in silence, without arms. These were to be sent forward, afterwards; but Duke Alva was apprised of the movement, and despatched Santio Davila with a sufficient body of Spaniards and Walloons. Montigni was attacked by this force at Dalen, and was himself taken prisoner. This Spaniard committed fearful

ravages in Jülich. All Protestants were objects of his wrath. Their property was plundered, their houses were burned, their wives and daughters violated; the dead were dug out of their graves, and hung up. The details preserved in the archives of the Church at Waldenkirchen, of these scenes of abomination, are enough to make the reader shudder.

Baron Coqueville Normand made some progress with his army on the borders of Artois; but the King of France, who was still in debt to the Duke, was requested to disperse this force. The King commanded Marshal Cosse to proceed against Coqueville with the garrisons of Piccardy. Coqueville retired to the small town of Vallery, near Abbeville, and defended himself for a long time; but he was at length overwhelmed by superior numbers, and forced to surrender. He was beheaded with his adherents.

Count Louis, of Nassau, penetrated Friesland, and took it in the presence of the enemy. Duke Alva, in alarm, gathered all his forces, and sent Count Aremberg in advance, to prevent all farther progress. Louis retreated as though he had been outgeneralled; but suddenly he took his stand in a position between Heiliger See and Wynchoten, where a bloody battle was fought, May 24th. Aremberg was beaten. Sixteen hundred dead were left on the field. Among them was Count Aremberg and Count Adolphus, the brother of Louis. All the baggage of Aremberg's army, his silver plate, and military chest, fell into the possession of the conqueror. Count Louis pursued the enemy, who threw himself into Gröningen. Gröningen was besieged; but as the Count was in want of heavy artillery, he could do no more than closely invest the city. Enraged by this victory of the Count, the Duke ordered all the nobles who were in prison to be beheaded, and their



heads and bodies to be exposed along the highway on poles, where they rotted. Egmont and Hoorne also received their sentence.

On the 5th of June, 1568, Egmont wrote another letter to the King, imploring forgiveness, commended his wife and children to his care, and having mounted the scaffold at the market-place in Brussels, read the fifty-first psalm at the side of the Bishop. After pacing up and down several times, he asked the executioner if there was no reprieve. On being told there was none, he gnashed his teeth, threw aside his cloak, kneeled upon the cushion, gave the signal to the executioner, drew his cap over his eyes, and said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." The result justified the warning of the Prince of Orange. In the same way, and at the same time, Hoorne was executed. Their heads were exposed to the people, on poles, for two hours. Their death awakened universal sorrow. The citizens of Brussels dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood of these beheaded nobles, as a memento.

Immediately afterwards, the Duke of Alva marched, with a powerful army, to the relief of Gröningen. Count Louis retreated before this overwhelming force, but the Duke came up with him at Jemmingen, and defeated him. Count Louis gathered the wrecks of his scattered army as well as he could, and went into Germany to his brother, who was marching to his assistance with a large force. His brother's disaster distressed the Prince of Orange greatly; but his courage, and the desire to avenge it, rose in the same degree. He now issued a formal declaration of war against the tyrant, published a printed manifesto, in which he detailed the abominations of which Alva was guilty, and invoked the help and protection of the Princes of Germany. With a powerful army, the Prince marched down along the

banks of the Rhine, pitched his camp below Cleves, and offered battle to the Duke. Terrified by the power and heroic boldness of the Prince, and oppressed with horror of the scenes of murder which flitted before his memory, like terrible apparitions of the dead, he did not venture to join battle with the Prince, but determined to wage a defensive war, to wear out his adversary by petty skirmishes, and to cut off, or at least embarrass, his supplies. The Prince defeated several corps of the Duke's army, but could not bring him to a general engagement. After holding a position for some time between the Meuse and the Rhine, he marched along the banks of the Meuse up to Lüttich, where he had expected to meet some reinforcements; but owing to the precautions of the Bishop at that place, the Orange party did not dare show itself. The citizens of Lüttich had, in fact, formed a corps to defend their city against the Prince, and they almost succeeded in exciting a mutiny in his army. In spite of all the efforts of the Duke to impede the Prince's passage over the Meuse, his army crossed the river, and came near surprising the Duke with his troops. The Prince was obliged to rest his army, which had waded across, and was drenched with water; the Duke took advantage of this, and fled to Maestricht. The next day the Prince pursued him, and appeared before the city in order of battle, but in vain. He captured some towns, and led his army through Thiene, still indulging the hope that he could provoke the Duke to a battle. When he found all his endeavours fruitless, not wishing to spend time to no purpose, he determined to march into France to the aid of the Hugonots, who, immediately after Duke Casimir's departure from France, had become involved in the third civil war. Duke Alva followed him in the distance, and endeavoured to

thwart his purpose; the Prince turned upon him, and for the last time offered him battle; but he was able to reach only a few corps, which he put to rout. He then proceeded quietly on his way to France, and proposed to unite his forces with the Hugonot army under Condé, but his troops refused their consent; they insisted that their oath obliged them only to fight against the tyrant Alva, and not against the King of France; and besides, they demanded their arrears of pay. No encouragement, entreaties, promises, or threats, could pacify the soldiers. The Prince saw himself obliged to lead his army through Champagne and Lorraine to Strasburg. Here he sold his artillery and baggage, and paid his troops as far as he could. The army dispersed. Many became thieves and robbers; many died from hunger and exposure; and only a few cavalry adhered to the fortunes of the Prince.

Thus disastrously ended this attempt of the Prince to give freedom to the Netherlands. The exultation of the Duke was unbounded, and the thank-offering which he made to his God, was the vow, that he would rage still more inhumanly against the Protestants and utterly exterminate them. The devastation which he committed was frightful, and the distress which ensued was indescribable. The emigrations to England were so numerous that whole cities grew out of them. The refugees built Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, Maidstone, and Hampton, and introduced the manufactures, which are now so flourishing there. Pope Pius V. sent to the Duke a consecrated sword, garnished with gold, and a holy hat of great value. He was honoured with a solemn triumph in Brussels.

The Prince of Orange, nothing daunted by the failure of his first attempts, revolved in his mind new

plans to drive the barbarians from the country and assist the oppressed Netherlands. Immediately after the dispersion of his army, he went with his brother and the Prince of Deuxponts, attended by the remnant of the cavalry which had remained faithful to him, to aid the Hugonots and the King of Navarre. Many and valuable services were rendered by these heroes to the Protestants of that country. The battle of Moncontour is an abiding memorial of the valour of Count Louis of Nassau. In the winter of 1568 and 1569 the Prince returned to his paternal city, Dillenburg, in Germany. On the way thither, as he travelled through France, Netherland refugees came to him from all sides, and offered him their services and property to save their country. The Admiral of France, Count Chatillon, had advised him to wage war against Alva, not only on land, but on the sea also, because the ports of the Netherlands were without garrisons, and the genius of the nation was adapted to navigation, and by this means he would have the best opportunity to obtain money in abundance. At once the Prince took measures for a naval war, and issued letters-of-marque to the boldest and most experienced sailors. Forthwith some ships were equipped, and several more were captured. They had their harbours on the coast of England, at Rochelle in France, on the Elbe, the Ems, and the Vlie in Holland. The richest ships fell a prey to them. Money in abundance flowed into the hands of the adventurers. True, these privateers at first committed many excesses; but the Prince soon introduced more order, and disciplined an efficient navy. Alva equipped some ships against them, and requested the Queen of England to close her ports against these *pirates*, or "Water-beggârs," as they were called in those days. The Queen did this; but this very



prohibition compelled the "Sea-beggars" to capture Briel.

The means had now been discovered to break the yoke of Spanish tyranny in the Netherlands. The fleets furnished supplies to a large number of soldiers and marines, and the Prince was not reduced to the necessity of disbanding his forces through want of money. Money and men he had in abundance. In his last disastrous campaign he had learned that he could accomplish nothing without fortified places, and he determined, therefore, to seize some seaports and border cities. His plan was directed to the cities of Oberyssel, Camp, Deventer, Dwolle, Zütphen, Utrecht, Amsterdam, Enkhuyzen, Hoorn, Dordrecht, and the cities along the inland seas. In all these cities he obtained strong support.

The conduct of Alva, who demanded the tenth, twentieth, and the hundredth penny, produced the effect, that all deserted him, and went over to the Prince. In a short time, Vliessingen, Zeeland, Rotterdam, Enkhuyzen, and other cities were in his possession. The Portuguese fleet, the Spanish ships, Texel, and the Zuyder See, fell into the power of the Prince. The foundation of liberty was laid. At the peace of Munster and Osnabruck, 1648, the Seven Provinces were recognised as an independent republic. To the Prince they were indebted for their freedom. No wonder that the Provinces loved the Prince and all the German Protestant Princes with enthusiasm, and that they adopted the Heidelberg Catechism, and introduced it as a symbolical book, even had there been no other reason than simply that it came to them from their German brethren and deliverers.

There was another reason, however, and this was, that they had no catechisms of their own, and that they

found the Heidelberg Catechism the best adapted to their system. The Walloon, or French congregations, had for many years used Calvin's catechism. The German congregations at first used the large catechism of Embde, which John Utenhoven had translated into Dutch; and besides this, they employed the small catechism of Martin Micronius; but no sooner had the Heidelberg Catechism made its appearance, than they adopted this as the common text-book, and laid aside all others. In a synodical assembly in 1568, it was introduced as an acknowledged text-book, and at all subsequent ecclesiastical conventions this resolution was confirmed. Finally, at the Synod of Dordrecht, in 1619, it was solemnly declared to be an acknowledged symbolical book of the Churches of the Netherlands. From this time forth, the Heidelberg Catechism was also called the Belgian, because it was adopted in this church as a recognised norm of doctrine. Hence the mistake of some learned men, who suppose that there was a difference between the Belgian Catechism and that of the Palatinate.

During the period in which the Arminian controversies excited so much attention in the Netherlands, a catechism was published with the title, "Korte onderwysinge der kinderen in de Christelyke religie. Gedrukt tot Dienst von de Jeucht ter Goude. 1607." It is short. Seven alphabets, printed in letters of various kinds, together with a course of syllables as an introduction to spelling and reading, constitute the Introduction. At the end, the prayers out of the Heidelberg Catechism are appended. It is somewhat like an extract from this Catechism, and treats in three chapters of man's misery, deliverance, and thankfulness. The circumstances which gave rise to it were the following: The magistrates of Gouda would never

allow the Heidelberg Catechism to be explained from their pulpits, because it was a human production. They would not have it used in the schools, because it contained some controverted points, hard to be understood, which even adults, to say nothing of children, could hardly comprehend. In order, therefore, that the youth might no longer be deprived of instruction, a catechism of their own was prepared, and the magistrates were requested to allow it to be used in the schools for this purpose. At first it was not printed, but only copied; but the necessity of preparing so large a number of these copies, induced its being put in print. James Arminius was suspected of being its author; but he declared in a letter to Conrad Vorst, that the preachers in Gouda had prepared it, and had merely advised with him in relation to it. Scarcely had it made its appearance in print, before the preachers at Gouda were called to account for it at the Synod of Dordrecht, and received a public rebuke. It was resolved, at the same time, to request the magistrates and Church Council not to adopt it, but to introduce the Heidelberg Catechism.

It was contended, that the most important articles of faith were either left out, or were treated too generally in this Catechism, so that heretical opinions might be concealed in it. Sibr. Lubbertus\* wrote in a bitter style to John von Oldenbarnevelt, that the Catechism of Gouda was so framed, that Servetus himself, were he to come to life again, could subscribe to it; and that the whole affair showed that it had been gotten up accord-

\* Sibr. Lubbertus wrote: *Catechismus Goudensis præcipua doctrinæ capita tollit, vel saltem omittit. Cætera quæ retinuit, ita explicat, ut Servetus, si reviviscat, sit illis libenter subscripturus. Res ipsa docet, auctorem Catechismi omnia ad imitationem Fausti Socini, qui est genuinus Serveti discipulus censuisse.*

ing to Faustus Socinus, who was the genuine disciple of Servetus. He addressed a sharp criticism on this Catechism, in this letter to Oldenbarnevelt. Reynier Donteklock wrote publicly against the Catechism of Gouda. His treatise is entitled, "Proeve des Goufchen Catechismi, ofte korte onderwysinge in de Christelyke religie, tot Warschuwinge von andere steden ende schadelike nieuwicheden in saecken de Leere ende religie angaende. Geschreven door Reginald Donteklok, oudt Dienaer des heyligen Evangelii tot Delft. 8vo." The author does justice to the Catechism, declares that nothing false, or contrary to the Divine word, was contained in it, but he censures it, because the design was, by means of it, to exclude the Heidelberg, or Palatinate Catechism; he gives his warning against it, because it proceeded from the suspected teachers of Gouda; because it had probably been prepared at Leyden by Arminius, or his assistants; because it does not treat explicitly of original sin, justification, and the subsistence of both natures in the Person of Christ, etc.; and he censures it farther, because it aimed at uniting all parties in Christendom, and because all heresies and errors might be concealed in its contents.

Several other excellent Catechisms were prepared by learned men in the Netherlands, but even they could not displace the Heidelberg Catechism. John Gheschalius wrote a Catechism in rhyme; Christian Schottanus—First Elements of Theology—Gröningen, 1653; Peter Doulignon, Christian Instruction, Amsterdam, 1682; John de Bruine, First Principles of the Divine Word, a learned and capital book, in questions and answers, Hague, 1707; Philip Marnix, a learned Burgomaster at Antwerp, also published a Catechism.

The renowned and beloved French preacher at the Hague, James Saurin, wrote, in 1722, in the French



language, An Analysis of Christian Theology and Christian Morality, in the form of a Catechism. In the following year, Doctor Christian Frederic Børner translated it, and it was afterwards translated into German, by C. F. Gellert. This excellent Catechism consists of three parts. The first part treats, in fourteen sections, of Natural Religion, of God, his Attributes and Providence; the second develops, in seventy-five sections, the necessity of Revelation, and its agreement with natural religion and of the duties toward God, our neighbour, and ourselves. The third part contains the proof that Revelation proceeds from God, and that Jesus Christ is the true Messiah. The fourteenth and last section of this part is a *resumé* of the whole work, and a presentation of the true Christian and the Church. This Catechism has a peculiar excellence in this, that here and there, observations are addressed to the catechists, which serve partly to explain the subjects which are discussed, and partly to admonish them to make these truths practical. Still neither this work, nor any other, was able to supersede the Heidelberg Catechism; once introduced, to this day it has maintained its place.

The praiseworthy zeal with which the Reformed Church of the Netherlands provided for the instruction of youth and of adults is noteworthy. At the Synod of Dordrecht, a rule was inserted in the revised Church Order, Article XXI. and LXVIII., that the Consistories should see to it, that competent teachers were every where appointed, who should be able to teach the children, not only reading and writing, languages and sciences, but also the fear of God, and the Catechism; and also that the pastors of churches should explain on the afternoon of each Lord's day, in all the churches, the substance of Christian doctrine as taught in the

Heidelberg Catechism, so that, in accordance with the arrangement in Lord's days, they might present it completely every year. This rule was repeated at every ecclesiastical convention. Festus Hommius, who wrote a Harmony of the Belgic Synods, expresses himself on this subject as follows:

"The custom of catechising is derived from the apostles, and must be observed in all the Churches. The Heidelberg Catechism is recommended to the Belgian Churches, in order that they may be in accord with the German. In these catechisations, a familiar style is to be used, adapted to the capacities of the young people. Parents and schoolmasters are to be admonished that they instruct the children thoroughly, at home and in the schools, and so soon as their age permits, send them to the catechisation."\*

At the Synod of Dort, 1618 and 1619, a long consultation was held upon the best means of improving the mode of catechisation in the Netherlands, between the foreign and native divines. The result was the following: "In order that the young people of the church may be carefully instructed from tender years in the fundamental principles of true religion, a three-fold catechisation shall be instituted and observed; family instruction, by the parents; one in the schools, by the teachers; one in the church, by the pastor, elders, readers, and deacons. To this end, parents shall instruct their children and domestics at home in the

\* Festus Hommius in *Harmonia Synodorum Belgicarum*, cap. xi., Num. 13—16, p. 155. Catechizandi consuetudo ab apostolis accepta, in omnibus ecclesiis observanda censetur; Belgicis ecclesiis commendatur Heidelbergensis formula, ut cum ecclesiis Germanicis unanimis Christiana declaretur consilio; in explicanda catechesi sermone familiari et ad juniorum captum accomodato est utendum. Parentes et Ludimagistri sunt monendi, ut domi et in scholis juventutem diligenter instituunt et simul ac aetas liberorum patitur, ecclesiae catechizandos afferent.

grounds of Christian doctrine, admonish them often to the fear of the Lord, remind them of the duty of prayer, take them to the house of God to hear the word of God, go over the sermon with them at home, read some chapters to them out of the Bible, or let them read these themselves, and assign certain passages of Scripture to be learned by heart; and to this duty parents shall be frequently admonished, both publicly and privately, by the pastors, elders, and deacons, and those who are found negligent therein shall be reproved by the Consistory. In the schools, no one shall be appointed as teacher who is not a member of the Reformed Church, or who has no testimonials of his faith and good conduct. He must be well versed in the catechetical doctrine, and must have subscribed the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism with his own hand-writing, and have solemnly expressed his promise that he will catechise according to the mode herein prescribed, and that he will diligently instruct the youth entrusted to his care, in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion.

“The duty of such schoolmaster’s office shall be, to instruct all their scholars, according to the difference in their age and understanding, at least two days in the week, in such manner, that they shall not only learn the sentences of the Catechism by rote, but also rightly comprehend the meaning and substance of the same. For this purpose, a threefold form of the Catechism shall be used in the schools, arranged according to the capacity of the young people. The first shall be for the use of little children, and shall contain the Apostle’s Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, the doctrine of the Sacraments and of Church discipline, besides some short prayers and very simple questions bearing upon the three divisions of the Catechism,

together with some notable passages of sacred Scripture. The second shall consist of a short extract from the Heidelberg Catechism, in accordance with which, those who have well mastered the first Catechism may be led to farther knowledge. The third shall be the ordinary Heidelberg Catechism in use in the Churches, which shall be employed in the instruction of adults, and of those who have already had considerable experience. In connection with this catechismal arrangement, the schoolmasters shall give heed that the scholars not only learn it by heart, but are thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines therein contained; and in order to this, they shall in a plain and intelligible manner explain it to them according to their capacity, and frequently examine and question them, in order to ascertain what progress they are making. In addition to this, the schoolmasters shall carefully take the children to church, particularly to sermons on the Catechism, and afterwards go over these sermons with them.

“The duty of the pastors shall be, in company with the eldership, and if need be, with a person of civil authority, to visit the public and private schools, to show the teachers how to catechise efficiently, to encourage the children, by exhortation, commendation, promises, and presents, to the exercise of diligence and to piety, to reprove negligent teachers, and in case they do not improve, to request the magistrates to make them give better attention to their duty, or to put better men in their place. Moreover, it shall be incumbent on the pastors to deliver short discourses on the Catechism, adapted to the capacity not only of adult people, but also of younger persons; and as time may permit, to repeat them in the schools, particularly in the country; and as experience teaches that the ordinary instruction in the churches does not produce proper results in every



case, and that the best means of impressing the principles of Christianity upon the people, is by questions and answers, the pastors shall see to it that such adult persons as have either not enjoyed the advantages of the schools, or have learned but little in them, shall come, once every week, to a private house, or to the room in which the meetings of the Consistory are held, or to some other suitable place, that they may there be taught the grounds of the Christian religion, according to their capacity, in a friendly and familiar way. Finally, they shall also carefully instruct those who are about to come to the Lord's Supper, three or four weeks before."

From the pulpits, pastors were required to explain the Heidelberg Catechism in the afternoon sermons. These sermons on the Catechism were made obligatory by church law as early as 1576. The church-order established by the National Synod at Gravenhaag in 1586, repeated these rules, and made them more stringent. Inasmuch as the regulations were not followed in all places, they were reënacted and made more emphatic by Synods at Amsterdam, 1607; at Dordrecht, 1618; and at Gouda, 1620. D'Outrein, preacher and professor at Dordrecht, proposed, in a printed pamphlet, to omit certain preachings through the week, and to introduce, in their stead, congregational examinations on the Catechism; and farther, at the close of the examination, to mention the subject which would be discussed at the next meeting, and to recommend some book which treats on the matter, and which every one could consult. His proposal was not generally adopted, but several cities in Holland followed this plan; and in Zealand especially, such examinations are practised to this day.

The history of the adoption of the Heidelberg Cate-

chism in the Netherlands is, beyond dispute, the most important and noteworthy of all. To review it in its connection, is an instructive and profitable work. As early as 1566, Peter Gabriel lectured on the Heidelberg Catechism at Amsterdam. On these occasions, owing to the danger of the times, but few persons attended. But the foundation of its subsequent adoption was laid in a convention of the Dutch churches scattered within and outside of the Netherlands, at Wesel, 1568, at which it was resolved: "In the French churches of the Netherlands, the Catechism of Geneva shall be used; but the Heidelberg Catechism shall be employed in the German churches. However, this is left to their option until the next approaching Synod." At a meeting of the same churches subsequent to this, held at Embde, 1571, the above regulation was repeated with this addition: "The brethren have resolved, that the system of the Genevan Catechism shall be followed in the French churches, and that of the Heidelberg Catechism in the churches in which the language of the Netherlands is spoken, but with this understanding, that if any churches have another catechetical form in use, which is in accordance with the word of God, they shall not be compelled to change it." The full adoption of our Catechism ensued at a National Synod of the Dutch churches, German, and French, as well those outside of the Netherlands, as those within the borders, held at Dordrecht, 1574; and again at another, held at the same place in 1578, where it was resolved: "In the German churches, the Heidelberg Catechism shall be used, together with the Psalms translated by Peter Dathenus; and in the French churches, the Catechism heretofore in use, printed with the Psalms in French. The German churches shall also, at their option, use the brief examination of faith, which is extracted from

the Catechism, in order to instruct those who may wish to unite with their congregations.”

In this manner the Heidelberg Catechism was introduced into public and constant use in the Reformed Netherlands, with the single exception of the city of Gouda, which could never be induced to consent to its adoption. In the year 1576, the order of the preaching was regulated, in a synopsis of ecclesiastical rules, by the Prince of Orange, as Stadtholder, and the States of Holland and West Friesland. This was more strictly prescribed by means of the church regulations of the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands of both languages, which were adopted in the National Synod at Gravenhague, in 1586: “The Pastors shall explain, in a brief manner, on successive Lord’s day afternoons, in regular order, the summary of the Christian religion, contained in the Catechism, which is now adopted in the Netherlands, so that the same may be concluded and gone through with every year, according to the divisions laid down therein.” When it was found that this regulation was not fully obeyed in all places, the same rule was again enforced by the Synods, at Amsterdam, 1607, at Dordrecht, 1618, and at Gouda, 1620. The esteem in which the Catechism was held, was still more enhanced by the obligation imposed upon the teachers of churches and schools, to bind themselves, by the signatures of their names, to teach, and without interruption to use, the Catechism in their instructions. The highest position of honour and respect was accorded to the Catechism of the Palatinate, by the great Synod of Dordrecht, 1618, 1619. All the theologians who were present as deputies, in great numbers, from all the Reformed Churches of Europe, examined the Catechism with the closest scrutiny; after long and exact investigation, they approved it in all its doctrinal

statements, commended it with the warmest expressions of satisfaction, and voted unanimously for its adoption as A SYMBOLICAL BOOK.

Notwithstanding this public respect and formal adoption, the Heidelberg Catechism encountered violent opposition in the Netherlands. Among the Papists, as a matter of course, there were many who denounced it. They usually called it the pest of the country and the poison of the world. They burned it publicly, and whipped it to pieces with rods. They also wrote against it. *Martin Duncan* wrote in Latin, a Catholic Catechism in opposition to the Heidelberg, Antwerp, 1594. *Engelbert Kenniphovius* published a refutation of the Heidelberg Catechism. An unknown author wrote "The Reformed Thumb-screw." A learned man, who wrote the continuation of Floremund Raymond's History of the Rise, Progress, and Fall of the Heresies of the Fifteenth Century, makes mention of this book, but the author's name is not given. The contents of the book are amusing, and the design is rather to treat the Catechism with contempt, and make it ludicrous, than to refute it by thorough argument. Two Dutch linen-weavers are introduced as holding a dialogue about it; one boasts and brags that he understands the art of putting tangled skeins of linen thread in the best order. The other gives him the Heidelberg Catechism, and bids him show his skill on this, by reconciling certain questions which occur in it with the Scriptures as the rule of faith. They appoint the landlord at whose house they are sitting over their cups, as the witness and umpire of this deliberation; the landlord's wife takes part in it too, and the talk runs at last into abuse and vilification of the Catechism, whose doctrines cannot be reconciled with the teachings of sacred Scripture.



The Catechism found enemies, and opponents also, among the Reformed in Holland. The first dispute about it arose in 1585, in the Church of St. James, at Utrecht, where Erasmus van Bakker refused to approve and adopt it. He was followed with great zeal by Caspar Colhaes, Hubrecht Duyfhuur, Tako Sybrants, Herman Herberts, and Cornelius Wigerus, or Wigerts. They not only censured the Catechism, but refused to teach and subscribe it. The city of Gouda also declined to adopt and introduce the Catechism, and Dirck Volkartz Coornhart published a pamphlet against the Heidelberg Catechism, with the title, "Examination (Proeve) of the Heidelberg Catechism, 1583." He dedicated it to the States General, and objected particularly to the fifth and one hundred and fourteenth question; and yet all this was a trivial matter, compared with what followed.

By far the most violent opponent of the Heidelberg Catechism was Arminius, and after his death, the Arminians, or Remonstrants. The controversy respecting the Heidelberg Catechism lasted a long while; it extended through a period of ten years. It originated in a small matter. When James Arminius was called as Professor to Leyden, he wished to make the impression that he had no objection to the Heidelberg Catechism, and that he also taught nothing that was contrary to it, on the contrary, that he heartily endorsed all its doctrinal principles. It was soon apparent, however, that various points were contained in it, about which he had some scruples and hesitation, and that he wished the Catechism might be revised and carefully re-examined. After some time, he went so far as to maintain, that the commonly received doctrine of the Reformed Church respecting Divine Providence and the election of individuals to eternal life, was at variance with the

Heidelberg Catechism; but that, on the other hand, his views on these articles of faith were perfectly in accordance with it. On this subject several interviews were held between him and his Reformed brethren, and whilst these were still in progress, he died, without changing his opinions. With his death, however, the dispute was not settled; it was continued by his disciples, the Arminians. At one time, they represented themselves as approving the essential contents of the Catechism; at another, they found fault with this thing and the other, and particularly disapproved of its being openly taught and expounded in the Church; this they declined doing; anon, they prepared a Catechism of their own, in order, by this means, to drive the Heidelberg out; then, they pretended, that their doctrine was contained and grounded in the Heidelberg Catechism, but that of their opponents, the Contra-remonstrants, was not. This they maintained in the petition to the States of Holland and West Friesland, which became so famous under the title, *Remonstrantia*, and gave them the name of Remonstrants. Next, they threw out intimations, that they had many doubts about the doctrines of the Catechism. They declined, however, to come out with those doubts, although repeatedly invited to do so, and questioned in relation to them, by the Provincial Synod, partly because they were of opinion that the statement and adjudication of these points belonged to a National Synod; partly because they were not willing to make known and entrust their objections indiscriminately to persons who might perhaps abuse them to their disadvantage. At last, they were compelled by a decree to hand them in, sealed, to the States General. This they did, and in the course of these objections, they complained that passages were found in the Catechism, which could not be regarded as

scriptural; partly, because they did not properly express the mind of the Holy Spirit, and consequently gave offence; partly, because the fundamental articles of Christianity were not as carefully distinguished, as they should be, from other doctrines, whose scientific importance or necessity was of less moment; and finally, because contradictory propositions and doctrines were contained in it. In general, they insisted upon a careful investigation and close scrutiny of the Heidelberg Catechism, and demanded this the more urgently, because, according to their representation, the Catechism had been adopted in the Netherlands without this prudent deliberation. The magistrates consented to this investigation, and ordered that it should be instituted at a great national Synod.

Another outcry arose about the clause of revision (*revisionis clausulum*) introduced into the edict, which was issued in relation to it, and which greatly distressed and racked the Churches of the Netherlands. The national Synod had meanwhile been determined upon. All Reformed Churches in Germany and other countries were invited to send their deputies to this important assembly. As the time drew near for the appointed meeting of the national Synod, the Arminians, or, as they were now already called, the Remonstrants, were ordered, by a written decree of the magistrates, to hold in readiness, and at the proper time produce, that which they had to allege and object against the Heidelberg Catechism. This same thing was more than once demanded of them, both in writing and verbally, after the Synod had commenced in 1618, at which they were also present. In accordance with this order and repeated demands, the Remonstrants finally laid before the fathers assembled at Dordrecht, their observations and objections to the Heidelberg

Catechism. They did this both unitedly and individually. Simon Episcopius, Philip Pynakker, Edward Poppius, Dominicus Sagma, Jo. Arnold Corvinus, Samuel Naeranus, Bernard Dwinglo, and Henry Hollingerus, had united, and expressed their opinions conjointly; but Charles Niellius, Thomas Goswinus, Assuerus Matthisius, and Isaac Frederici, handed in their objections, each one for himself. They had arranged and collected them in general objections, which concerned the Catechism as a whole, and in particular ones, which criticised the questions and answers in regular order, and had brought so many, that scarcely a single question was left without criticism; and their remarks, if they did not exceed in bulk the matter of the Catechism, were at least equal to it. They subsequently appeared in two books. The one has as its title in Latin, "Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of Dordrecht respecting the Remonstrants;" the other is written in Dutch, with the title, "Rise and Progress of the Divisions in the Churches of the Netherlands (*verschillen*) up to the national Synod at Dordrecht."

Adrian Coerbach, a lawyer of the Netherlands, also contended against the Heidelberg Catechism. According to the statement of Jerome Van Alphen, a Dutch preacher, Pontionus von Hattem, perverted the Heidelberg Catechism, in order to diffuse the errors of Spinoza.

One of the most renowned men in the whole republic of letters, Hugo Grotius, remarks, in his excellent Latin book, *Desire for the Peace of the Church*: "Dr. Rivetus will admit that I have, during the space of thirty years, learned something, not only through study and prayer, but also through manifold trials; and at this age I am not to be moved, either by his Catechism,



which has never yet secured public respect in its own native country, nor by the clamours of the multitude." In another passage, he declares that the Heidelberg Catechism had never been approved by any resolution, or order of the States General; but Andrew Rivetus answers him: "How can this sophist say that the Catechism has never been approved by any resolution, when he knows better? It is wonderful that he should not know, what he might have known, and what Grotius himself has acknowledged, that after the Convention at the Hague, during the time that the meeting of the National Synod was awaited, it was forbidden to utter anything contrary to the sacred Scriptures and the Heidelberg Catechism; and although Grotius was not present at the Synod of Dordrecht, yet he knows what was there resolved, viz., that the Heidelberg Catechism, which had already been adopted in the Belgian Churches, should be retained in the Netherlands, and that the resolution of the Synod was based on this decree of the magistrates."

If Grotius had lived some time longer, he would have been convinced most abundantly of that, which, without good reason, he doubted, and denied. For, besides what the States General decreed at the Synod of Dort and elsewhere, touching the Heidelberg Catechism, they confirmed its public and symbolical character in a great assembly of the States, in 1651, and settled it again in 1694, by the following ordinance: "That all teachers, be they professors, rectors, or preachers of the Reformed Churches in Holland and West Friesland, in their writings, sermons, catechisations, public and private instructions and discussions, shall abide by the common formularies of the Reformed Church, which are comprised in the Confession of the Catechism and the Canons of the Synod of Dort,

and shall take care not to teach or write anything contrary thereto."

Let us look somewhat more particularly at the defence of the Heidelberg Catechism. Strong champions of the Heidelberg Catechism arose in Holland when the attack was made upon it. Dirck Volkart Coornhart was the first who assailed it. The controversy was therefore first begun with him. He had dedicated his book to the States General. These delivered it to the theologians at Leyden, to prepare a synopsis of his doctrinal opinions. Upon this, by their direction, and in presence of the authorized deputies of the States, a verbal conversation was appointed between Coornhart and Adrian Saravia, who was assisted by two preachers from Delft, October 27, 1583. In this however, the real point in dispute was scarcely touched, and nothing was done on the part of the magistrates. Coornhart and Saravia continued the controversy in writing. Others endeavoured to change his opinion concerning the Heidelberg Catechism; among the rest, John Gero-bulus, Arnold, Cornelius, and Riennerus Donteklok, who published a treatise with this object; but Coornhart stuck to his opinion, and wrote an answer to these men, which, however, did not appear in print until after his death, in 1610, at Gouda.

The strongest weapons were opposed to Arminius and his adherents, the Remonstrants. The chief magistrate of the land issued public orders that no one should presume to teach anything in public, contrary to the Heidelberg Catechism. The pastors of the churches were required to subscribe this formula again, and those who declined were dismissed from their stations. Those who made objections to it were called upon to state them openly. A new investigation of the Catechism was finally reluctantly conceded. A

convention of Reformed Theologians was assembled at Dordrecht, 1618 and 1619. On this occasion, the scruples of the Remonstrants were considered. Theologians from the Palatinate appeared, and protested against any alteration of the Catechism, demanded the objections of the Remonstrants, and offered to present a refutation of them to the assembled fathers. At the close of the Synod, the Palatinate deputies requested that the Catechism should be once more examined by them. All the questions and answers were then read aloud before them, the votes on them called, and the unanimous answer was, that it was in perfect accordance with Holy Scripture. The following solemn resolution was then entered in the proceedings:

“*Resolved*, unanimously and with the most cordial approbation of all the theologians present, both foreign and Belgian, that the doctrine contained in the Catechism of the Palatinate is agreeable to the word of God, and presents nothing which ought to be altered or amended as imperfectly agreeing with it; and that said Catechism is, therefore, a very accurate compendium of sound Christian doctrine, adapted with peculiar wisdom, not only to the capacity of children, but also of persons of maturer years; and that it may, therefore, be taught to great edification in the Belgic Churches, and must, by all means, be retained.”

The Remonstrants, in ridicule, said, that the Heidelberg Catechism had been *canon-ized*, before it had been examined, according to the decree of the magistrates, or their requests had been heard. It was true, in fact, that the objections of the Remonstrants had not been considered. A conversation was held respecting this, but it was resolved to commit the vindication to the Palatinate theologians. What the Synod of Dordrecht omitted, was afterwards done by the learned Reformed

theologians,—Henry Alting, in his Exposition of the Heidelberg Catechism; Caspar Sibelius, in his Catechetical Meditations, and Jerome Van Alphen, in his Economy of the Palatinate Catechism. The learned men of the Netherlands rendered most efficient service in their defence of the Heidelberg Catechism. It would be useless to make the attempt to notice in detail the various publications which appeared in this country—they are countless. It is hardly possible to enumerate all the commentaries, expositions, etc., which were written on the Catechism. The most noted are the following:

*Jeremiah Bastingius* wrote, in the Latin language, *Exegemonata*, or Commentary upon the Catechism of Christian Doctrine, which is taught in the Churches and Schools of Belgium and the Palatinate; this Commentary first appeared in 1588. A second edition was published in 1590. Bastingius wrote also another work, with the Dutch title, *Exposition of the Catechism of Christian Religion*. Dort, 1594.

*Henry William Williamson's* Analysis of the Catechism of Christian Religion, which is taught in the Churches and Schools of Belgium and the Palatinate, 1605–1612. Latin.

*Ruardus Acsonius'* Catechetical Narrative, in which the answers of the Palatinate and Belgic Catechism are explained. Scheidam, 1606. This is in Latin. In the Dutch language, he wrote, *Exposition of the Christian Catechism*. Scheidam, 1608.

*John Kuchlinus*, *The Catechism of the Dutch and West Friesland Churches explained*. By Samuel Crispinus, 1612, without the name of the place where it was printed. Latin.

*Festus Hommius*, *Treasury of Explanations of the Heidelberg Catechism*. Leyden, 1617.



Henry Ludolph Benthem, who gives an account of the authors upon the Heidelberg Catechism, observes, that this book was most commonly used among the Reformed. This book, can, however, properly not be ascribed to Hommius alone, for several divines contributed to it, among whom Zach. Ursinus was the first, for which reason it was usually called Ursinus's Treasury. John D'Outrein gives the history of this book. Ursinus, who was President of the College, delivered lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism, without interruption, until the year 1577. From these comes the Latin Exposition of Ursinus, which was published in 1584, and which was afterwards enlarged by his pupil, David Pareus, both whose works were translated by Hommius, and furnished with analytical tables; and this work was again revised and enlarged with special reference to the consideration of genuine piety, by John Spiliardus, and was thus printed in one book, with the title, Treasury of Explanations of the Heidelberg Catechism, 1657. Van Alphen mentions the following title of another book of Festus Hommius: The Doctrine of the Reformed Church contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, presented in tables, improved and enriched by L. V. Broeck, with a preface by H. Nicol. Wiltens, 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1723. This book is perhaps nothing more than a separate edition of the analytical tables, mentioned by D'Outrein, with which Hommius illustrated the Heidelberg Catechism.

*John Becius* on the Heidelberg Catechism. Dort, 1631.

*William Amesius's* Skiography of the Christian Catechism, in which, under the text, the several Sundays are briefly, thoroughly, and learnedly analysed and exhibited. Amsterdam, 1635, 1650. In the complete

works of Amesius, which were published at Amsterdam, 1658, the Skiagraphy is included. Latin.

*Gisbert Voetius*' Questions on the Catechism. Utrecht, 1640.

*William Maximilian Theelinck*, Simple Explanation and Application of the Principal Questions of the Belgic Christian Catechism. Middleburg, 1650.

*Henry Diestius*' Catechetical Honey-maker, (*Mellificium Catecheticum*.) Deventer, 1653. Catechetical Sermons by the same, according to the fifty-two Lord's days of the Heidelberg Catechism. Arnheim, 1670. Diestius also published the writings of two celebrated expositors of the Catechism, condensed in a short summary, with the Latin title, *Epitome of the Ursino-Parean Expositions*. Harderwick, 1633.

*John Martin*'s *Dominicalia* in three parts, of which the third part contains a popular analysis of the Palatinate Catechism, and observations suggested by it. Gröningen, 1653. This book is in Latin. He wrote also in Dutch, *Larger Catechisation* on the Catechism. Amsterdam, 1676.

*Conrad Mylius*, Catechetical Meletemata, or Homilies on the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1654. Latin.

*Cornelius Poudrayen*, Catechisation, or Thorough Indoctination in the Teaching of the Christian Catechism. Amsterdam, 1659.

*Nicolas Heussenius*, Catechism of the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands, confirmed in their truth by the testimony of the ancient Fathers. Rotterdam, 1657. He also wrote, *Prayers on the Catechism*. Leyden, 1655.

*John Beeltsynder*, Anatomy, or Exposition of the Christian Catechism. Amsterdam, 1651.

*Daniel Van Leren*, Meditations on the Catechism. Arnheim, 1636.

*Peter de Witte*, Catechisation on the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1658. A German translation of this book bears the title: "Catechetical Jewel; *i. e.*, Scriptural and Copious Catechisation, or thorough explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism, compiled with godly zeal and great care, and given to public print, by Peter de Witte. Now, for the sixteenth time within a few years, printed and published in the Netherlands." This book was eagerly bought up and read. Even an English translation of it was published.

*Henry Altmg*, Third Part of the Heidelberg Theological Authors, which comprises an explanation of the Palatinate Catechism, with a refutation of the remarks of the *Newlings* (innovators), and the objections of Socinians. Amsterdam, 1646, 1662. Van Alphen ascribes another book to this author: Catechisation on the Heidelberg Catechism. Steenwick, 1662. This is, perhaps, only a Dutch translation of the above Latin work.

*Paul Colonius*, Catechetical Discussions. Harderwyk, 1663. Latin.

*Christian Schotanus*, Theological Partitions, or the Learning of Ursinus and Amesius in the Palatino-Belgic Catechism. Franckker, 1663—1665. Latin.

*Arnold Montanus*, Catechism of the Christian Religion, as used in the Churches and Schools of Upper and Lower Germany, with an Analysis, and Scriptural passages noted in the margin, finally revised and arranged, by order of the States of Holland and West Friesland, for the use of their schools. Latest edition, enriched with an analytical compendium of each Lord's day, from Festus Hommius' Tables. Amsterdam, 1664.

This book is written in very neat Latin. At the close some prayers and sacred hymns are appended.

*Jacob Stermont*, Milk for Children, also Food for Grown People, or Short Summary of the Christian Religion, on the Catechism. Hague, 1665.

*Gellius de Bouma*, or *de Bauma*, Enlarged Christian Catechism, or Sure Method of Catechising on the same. Dort, 1658. He is the author, also, of Catechism of the Reformed Religion, made plain with an Analysis. Zutphen, 1651. The former book was also translated out of the Dutch into the German language, with the title, Catechism, or Short Instruction in Christian Doctrine, as taught in the Reformed Churches and Schools of the Palatinate, and also in the United Netherlands. Where to, also, a short and easy form and method of exercising, instructing, and examining children in the Catechism; and for the benefit of the simple; also, some very short, but exceedingly necessary and edifying, examples of questions are appended. First prepared in the Dutch language by Gellius de Bouma, but now translated from the Dutch into the German language, by John Valentine Rouser. Hanau, 1664.

*Balthasar Bekker*, Strong Meat for the Full-grown. Leuwarden, 1670, 1672. Amsterdam, 1682. On the title-page no mention is made of the Heidelberg Catechism, but it is nevertheless an exposition of it. The Reformed theologians have not regarded this book uniformly. Alting, Burmann, Wittich, Perizonius, and others, commended it highly; but Voetius, Maresius, and others, were loud in their censure. Maresius especially, was terribly incensed at it; denounced it to the Classis of Gröningen as erroneous and dangerous, and succeeded in having the book rejected by a Synod at Bolswart, in Friesland, and procuring alterations here



and there, in which the theological faculties at Franeker, Harderwyk, and Utrecht, lent zealous assistance. Bekker defended himself, indeed, with more than one apology, and Alting also wrote a special letter in vindication of it; but, by command of the magistrates, Bekker's apology was suppressed, and Maresius attacked him more fiercely than ever; other theologians also fell upon him, but Bekker answered them so modestly and impressively, that to this day he is held in honour for it. Finally, the matter went from the Synod to the States General, under whose judgment and order the book was publicly rejected, and with the ringing of bells, was forbidden. Bekker endured all this patiently. He did good service to the Heidelberg Catechism by various other books, and his name will be held in remembrance.

*John Cocceius*, The Heidelberg Catechism of the Christian Religion, Explained and Illustrated by Holy Scripture. Leyden, 1671. Amsterdam, 1672. Franeker, 1684. This catechetical work in Latin, which is also contained in the sixteenth volume of Cocceius' works, was published by his son, John Henry, after his death, from his manuscripts. The son says, very neatly, in the preface: "As for this treatise, it needs not my recommendation; it will be its own protection. But if any one believes that matter is contained in it, of which the authors of the Catechism had not even thought, let him know, that my father's object was not only to show what the authors of the Catechism designed to say, but also what they could have said, and must say, in accordance with Holy Scripture." This book was honoured with a translation into the Dutch language, and with publication, under the title, The Heidelberg Catechism of the Christian Religion, explained from Sacred Scripture, published by John

Cocceius, some time Professor of Divinity in the University of the city of Leyden, translated by Abraham Van Poot, Doctor of Medicine. Amsterdam, 1673.

*Jacob Crucius*, Treasure of the Christian Soul. Fifty-four Sermons on the Catechism. Amsterdam, 1671.

*Samuel Maresius*, Public Catechism, or Theological Disquisitions on all the Lord's Days thereof, now published at the request of many. Gröningen, 1671. Latin.

*Francis Rider's* Seven-fold Exercises on the Heidelberg Catechism, 2 parts. Rotterdam, 1671.

*Anthony Hulsius*, Catechetical Didactico-polemical Examen. 2 vols. Leyden, 1673. This author published another polemical work, Leyden, 1676. This work is Latin.

*Adam Peenius*, Catechisation on the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1676.

*William Momma's* Meditations on the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1684. Reflections of the same on the Heidelberg Catechism, Amsterdam, 1685, are perhaps a translation of the other, which was written in Latin.

*James Alting's* Dissertation, or Notes on the Heidelberg Catechism. Also an Exegetical Analysis of the Heidelberg Catechism, which may be found in the sixth volume of his complete works. Amsterdam, 1687.

*Anthony Vorster*, Catechetical View of the Knowledge of Truth, according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1691.

*Cornelius Gentman*, Dissertation on the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1692. Van Alphen mentions another work of this author on the Heidelberg Catechism, Amsterdam, 1705. Perhaps only a new edition.

*Barend Hakvoord*, The School for Christ; comprising

Sixty-six Lessons, in which the whole Confession of Christian Faith is briefly presented, and clearly explained, and confirmed by Holy Scripture, according to the course of the Heidelberg Catechism. Third impression, Amsterdam, 1693; again, at Zwoll and Amsterdam, 1706. Van Alphen is of the opinion that much which is contained in this book is contrary to the Christian religion.

*Pontionus Von Hattem*, Dissertation and exact Interpretation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Two Parts. Amsterdam, 1692. Van Alphen calls it a wicked and dangerous perversion, and no interpretation at all.

*Peter Van Hagen*, Fifty-two Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism, besides four Introductory Sermons. Amsterdam, 1676, 1684. These sermons were translated from the Dutch into German, by John Vogelsang.

*Everhard van der Hoocht*, The Heidelberg Catechism discussed in the Nieuwendammer Church, for those who desire to prepare themselves for the Lord's Supper. Amsterdam, 1696. Another work of Van der Hoocht is extant, with the title, Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsten, 1714.

*David Kribbe*, Doctrine of the Reformed Church, according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism, explained, confirmed, and applied to the practice of Godliness. Two Parts, Leyden, 1692, 1694; and again at Leyden, 1696.

*Caspar Sibellius*, Catechetical Meditations, in four parts, in which the chapters of the Christian Religion contained and taught in the Catechism of the Palatinate are clearly explained, both as to theory and practice, and powerfully vindicated from the calumnies and abuse of gainsayers, especially from the criticisms of the Remonstrants. Preceded by Catechetical Prolegomena and Paralegomena. Amsterdam, 1650. The

first part of this prolix Latin book came out separately at Deventer, 1646; the second at the same place, 1647; the third, 1649, and at last, the fourth also, 1650.

*Hero Sibersena*, Well of Salvation, exhibited in the Heidelberg Catechism. Leuwarden, 1696. A translation of it appeared at Frankfort, 1699.

The zeal in cultivating the Heidelberg Catechism was not yet cold. The eighteenth century produced many men who rendered eminent service in this department.

*John William Feyling's* Precious Catechism. Utrecht, 1705. By the same, The Truth of the Christian Religion, its duties and comfort, briefly proved by the Heidelberg Catechism. Amsterdam, 1710.

*John Rodolph Rodolph*, The Palatinate Catechism illustrated for the use of his hearers, which first appeared at Bern, 1697, was published also at Franeker, 1705. Franz Halma edited the last edition.

*Jacob Breukland*, Dissertation on the Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace, according to the order of the Heidelberg Catechism. Middleburg, 1711.

*Peter Van Hoeke*, Illustrations of the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1711.

*Mathaeus Gargon*, Some Consolation, or the Heidelberg Catechism opened and explained. Leyden, 1713.

*Van Pothuysen*, Key of Knowledge, or Explanation of the Doctrine of Truth, according to the order of the Christian Catechism. Utrecht, 1717.

*Salomon Van Till*, Catechetical Homilies. Utrecht, 1714. From the Latin they were translated into Dutch.

*John D'Outrein*, Golden Jewel of the Doctrine of the Truth according to Godliness, comprised in the Heidelberg Catechism; developed and illustrated. By John D'Outrein. Amsterdam, 1719. Frederic Adol-



phus Lampe published it several times with notes and additions.

*Peter Venhuysen*, The Complete, Sure Doctrine of Consolation of the Reformed Church, opened for wholesome instruction, and derived from the Heidelberg Catechism. Gröningen, 1721.

*John van der Kemp*, Christians wholly and everywhere in Possession of Christ. Presented in fifty-three Sermons on the Heidelberg Catechism. Rotterdam, 1722.

*Abraham van der Steeg*, Food for Youth, or Short Exposition of the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1726.

*Herman Alexander Roell*, Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Utrecht, 1728. Although Roell was in his day learned and celebrated, his Exposition of the Heidelberg Catechism was anything but satisfactory to the learned men of his times. The author's son published this book, and excuses the imperfection of the work, because his father had not intended that it should be printed. It is a book compiled from notes of lectures. The copyists have often failed to secure the right meaning of the author.

*John van der Honert*, Presentation of the Evangelical Truths which are contained in the Heidelberg Catechism. Leyden, 1728.

*Anthony Driessen*, Helps to Explain the Heidelberg Catechism, Methodically and Apodictically, and to apply it to Practice. Gröningen, 1724.

*Jerome Van Alphen*, one of the most learned men of his age, who rendered eminent service in the exposition of the Catechism, wrote, in the Latin language, Economy of the Palatinate Catechism, with a Prologue on Catechetical exercises generally, and particularly on

the Origin and History of the Catechism of the Palatinate. Utrecht, 1729.

*Anthony Strick*, The Heidelberg Catechism briefly explained in Questions and Answers; together with a Catechisation for making a profession of faith, and preparation for the Lord's Supper, and a short extract from it. Leuwarden, 1739.

*Engelbert Francis Le Bouck*, Explanation of the Heidelberg Catechism. Hague, 1741. This Latin exposition is somewhat prolix, and strictly Calvinistic.

Besides these expositors of the Catechism, who are known, there are many more whose names were either not announced, or whose catechetical books have not been accurately and perfectly noted by any one. Some learned men in Holland have given the sense of the Heidelberg Catechism in verses and rhymes, sometimes in a summary, and sometimes in a more extended form.

In the Latin language, *Francis Plante* wrote sacred epigrams upon the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Religion and Catechism. Leyden, 1679. Another poetical work bears the title: The Glory of the Reformed Church, streaming from the short Compendium of Divinity of the Heidelberg Catechism, with the questions and answers of the same put in rhyme, by *Christian Klaarbout*. Amsterdam, 1725. This rhythmical version of the Heidelberg Catechism into Dutch and poetical language, is accompanied with a long preface, in which Klaarbout overlays the Catechism with the most honourable eulogies and names, and relates its history, the greater part of which is extracted from John D'Outrein, and sometimes in the very words of that author.

*Balthasar Bekker* published, Child-teaching in Rhyme,

or the Heidelberg Catechism put in rhyme for the benefit of the memory of Children, in the year 1665.

Other learned men published original catechisms according to the fundamental doctrines of the Heidelberg Catechism, so that by this means, they illustrated and enriched it, or in the preparation of various theological books, directed their aim to it. The following are in the Dutch language:

*Emil Cuylenboorgh*, Beginning of the Doctrine of Christ, presented according to the order, division, and actual words of the Heidelberg Catechism. Rotterdam, 1698.

*Henry Groenewegen*, Catechisation, or Exercise upon all the principal grounds of Christian Faith, according to the track of the Heidelberg Catechism. Enkhuysen, 1698.

*Thaddeus de Lantman*, Short Guide to the Doctrine of Truth. Hague, 1678.

*George Mey*, Brief Compendium of the principal differences between the true Reformed and the present Romish Church, according to the order of the Christian Catechism. 1693.

*Balthasar Bekker*, Nourishment of Spiritual Growth, for the Youth of the Reformed Dutch Churches, consisting of fifty-two questions for the smallest Children. Milk for Children, and bread already cut, very convenient for use in the schools of the Reformed and all Christian Economies. 1668.

*John Martin*, Shorter Catechisation on the Christian Catechism. Utrecht, 1686.

*Simon Moolenaar*, Bible-book, or Short Compend of True Divinity, contained in the Heidelberg Catechism. Two Parts. Amsterdam, 1723.

*Anthony Van Costrum*, Short Compend of the Heidelberg Catechism. Dordrecht, 1704.

*Simon Simonides*, Short Compend, &c. Amsterdam, 1693.

The preachers in Dordrecht published in common, 1620, Short Compendium of Christian Doctrine, arranged in short questions and answers, according to the Heidelberg Catechism, for the instruction of those who are preparing for the holy communion.

At Herzogenbusch was published, in the French language, *Samuel Maresius'* Familiar Sketch of the proper Catechism of the Reformed Church in the United Provinces, divided into twelve sections.

The great Synod of Dort, during its sessions, entrusted to certain theologians who were present, Francis Gomarus, John Polyander, Anthony Thysius, Herman Faulkel, Balthasar Lydius, and Godfried Utemann, the preparation of an extract from the Heidelberg Catechism for smaller Children. They finished it during the sessions, and it was approved.

The General States of Holland rendered another service to the Heidelberg Catechism. They procured its translation into modern Greek, for the use of those who speak that language; and Pareus, in his history of the Palatinate, says: "In Belgium they are preparing a Spanish translation of the Heidelberg Catechism, in order that it may be used in the West Indies." Mr. Oelrich makes mention of another Spanish translation in the following treatise:

*D. John Charles Conrad Oelrich's* Historical critical account of a very rare edition of the Heidelberg Catechism of the Reformed Churches, in the Spanish language. Berlin, by Nauck, 1793, 42 pp. This is perhaps the same of which Pareus gives an account in his History of the Palatinate.



















